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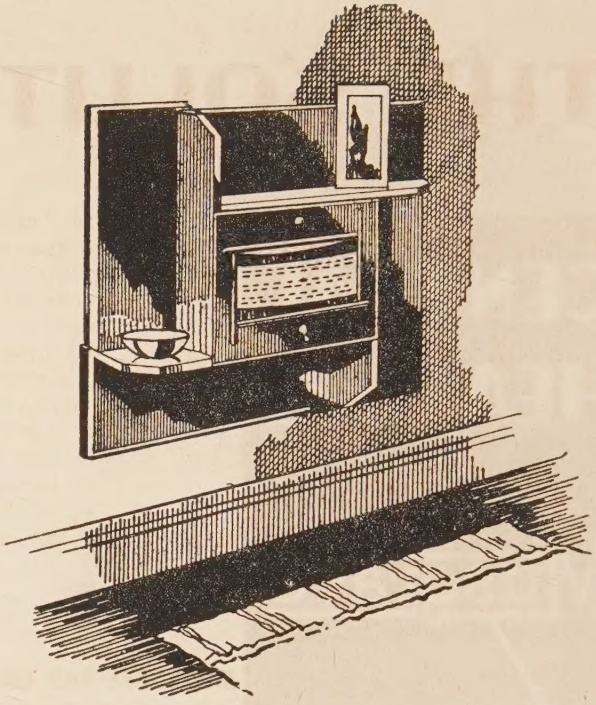

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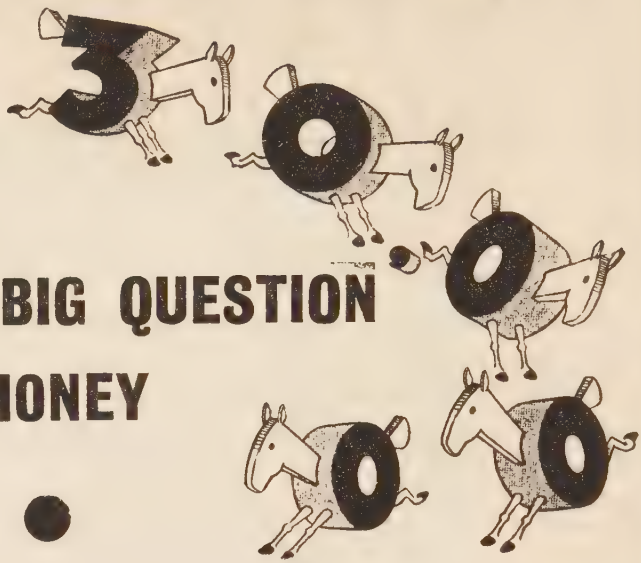

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MARCH 1934

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INDUSTRIAL ALCOHOL

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Professor of Chemistry, University College, Cork

WHEN the Editor of STUDIES asked me some weeks ago to write a short article on the practicability of large scale production of industrial alcohol in this country to replace petrol, my first impulse was to judge the whole project as so unfeasible as not to warrant further consideration. My opinion was based not on any doubt regarding the scientific aspect of the problem, which is perfectly straightforward, but on the cost of the product. With petrol at its present extremely low price at the ports, it is out of the question to manufacture alcohol in this country, or in fact in any country, to sell at a similarly low figure. On more careful review of the position, however, I soon realised that, in other countries not very different from our own, the industry has been fostered for many years by government aid in the interest of agriculture, and that enormous quantities of alcohol are being produced. As a result of this activity imports are reduced, hundreds of thousands of acres of land are being worked annually to provide the raw material, and a market is found for surplus agricultural products. That the development is a widespread one is supported by the following extract, in part, from a recent article by Schweitzer in the French Review *Chimie et Industrie*:—

" Since 1928 (*i.e.* before any legal application) Germany already used about 26,500,000 gallons of *Monopolin* (fuel containing 20 per cent. absolute alcohol) for motor fuel. In France in 1933 over 40,000,000 gallons of absolute alcohol were sold for blending with petrol in fuel mixtures, and the sales are rapidly advancing. This

advancement is partly due to the pressure of the French Government enforced by means of legal decrees. (The actual subsidy of the French Government to the alcohol industry in 1933 was 282 million francs according to the *Economist* of the 13th January 1934. There was a further concession of 284 million francs in tax). Les Consommateurs de Pétrole Company market a 10 to 15 per cent. alcohol blended with petrol under the name *Serco.* Desmarias Frères have a mixture *Azur* with 14 per cent. alcohol, and the Standard Oil Company's blend *Eco* contains 10 per cent. alcohol. In Sweden, where no special legislation exists, the liquid fuel *Lattbentrge* (75 per cent. petrol and 25 per cent. absolute alcohol) is being exclusively used, and motorists are willing to pay one or two ores more per gallon for it than for pure petrol. In Natal a blend of equal parts of petrol and absolute alcohol is widely used. In Australia, *Shellkol*, a mixture containing 15 per cent. alcohol, enjoys similar success. In England there is also an alcohol-petrol liquid fuel on the market. Many other countries now enforce the use of alcohol in motor fuels by official regulation, particularly Poland, Hungary, Latvia, Czecho-Slovakia, Italy, Brazil, Chile, Argentine, Panama, Malay States, etc." Latvia and Czechoslovakia go so far as to prohibit the sale of petrol unblended with alcohol. Petrol-alcohol mixtures have been found by the United States' Naval Department to give an aeroplane fuel superior to petrol alone.

In view of these and other facts it has been suggested that the industry should be developed here. The conditions in the past, the absence of a manufacturing tradition, and the difficulty of securing a subsidy have probably accounted for the delay in its introduction. If a large alcohol output was at all practical, even with moderate financial assistance and tariff protection, it would bring into cultivation a very large area of land for starch or sugar bearing crops, with resulting benefit to the farmers in direct cash payments and in by-products for feeding

stock. It would increase employment and reduce the adverse trade balance. These advantages with others must be seriously considered in any estimation of cost to the State. The subject is of such vital importance from every aspect and our ideas of economics have been so altered in a changed world that, as a chemist with some experience in fermentation industries, I undertook to consider the problem briefly and frankly to give my opinion.

At present the Irish Free State is practically dependent on outside sources for its entire supply of liquid fuels. The imports of petrol show a steady rise; they now amount to about forty million gallons per annum at an estimated cost of approximately £700,000. First grade petrol at the Irish port is valued at slightly more than 4d. per imperial gallon—excluding the 8d. government tax. In addition seventeen million gallons of petroleum oils other than lubricant oil are imported, and some of this is further refined in this country.

The use of synthetic methods for the production of liquid fuels from simple gases is making rapid headway on the continent and in America, but the prospects of exploiting on practical lines such processes here are not at the moment attractive. Benzol obtained in the distillation of coal, or possibly peat, is another liquid which might in part replace petrol or petroleum products if readily obtainable at a small cost. But such a substance is unlikely to be manufactured here in sufficient amounts to influence the position. Development on these lines moreover would not directly help the farming community.

For centuries this country has been noted for its fermentation industries, especially with regard to the production of beer and whiskey from barley and other cereals. Both these beverages contain an important constituent—namely, the simple organic substance ethyl alcohol—which may be separated in a comparatively pure condition by distillation and rectification. The

resulting spirit, alone or denatured by admixture with small amounts of nauseous materials to make impotable, constitutes the important substance known generally as industrial or power alcohol. Such a product, alone or in admixture with benzol or ether (" natalite "), is a serious rival to petrol, and as a liquid fuel compares very favourably with the latter. It has this difference, however, that for efficiency it must be used in engines with low speed and very high compression, and the change over to such engines would involve considerable cost. With alcohol available in restricted amounts as compared with petrol imports, the former may be utilised in another manner. The addition of small amounts of completely dehydrated ethyl alcohol to petrol gives a mixture (" carburetted alcohol ") which is equal to petrol in practically all respects. It has in addition a higher anti-knock value, greater compressibility and quicker pick-up than unblended petrol. The maximum amount of alcohol capable of blending without introducing difficulties is of the order of 25 per cent. When the alcohol contains some water, it is necessary to add a small proportion of a higher alcohol or other solvent—*e.g.* some countries use amyl alcohol (which is a by-product in alcohol fermentation) to preserve the homogeneity of the fuel, especially in cold weather. Such mixtures, with their increased calorific value and higher vapour tension, may be economically used in existing motor engines.

The success of the German alcohol industry in part depended on the adoption of co-operative methods of working and on the use of tubers unsuitable as a food. Each farmer on admission to a group or society undertook to give a definite area for the growing of tubers. The many thousands of distilleries, as a result, were certain of supplies. A number of these distilleries constituted a working unit and supplied a central rectifying plant with dilute alcohol for rectification. Advice was given

freely and inspection was as little irksome as possible, so that costs were kept low. The industry was supported by a protection tax on imported petroleum oils. All the alcohol produced was marketed by a central association.

Any raw material containing cellulose, starch or common sugar may be utilised for the production of alcohol. Excluding synthetic methods, vegetation supplies the only alternative to bituminous mineral deposits as a source of liquid fuels. Ultimately the world's supply of such fuels will be secured from the former source, but whether the time has yet come when such processes are desirable in this country is another question. The plant contains, as an essential constituent, some form of carbohydrate, from which alcohol is obtained either directly or indirectly by fermentation. In a substance such as beet or beet molasses the carbohydrate is present as sugar and may be fermented directly to alcohol.

If present in the form of cellulose (as in wood or straw) or of inulin (as in the artichoke) or of starch (as in most tubers and cereals), it is necessary to bring about saccharification; this is followed by fermentation and the fermented liquid is distilled to separate the volatile constituents from the solid impurities. The resulting alcoholic distillates are fractionated and rectified in order to obtain the concentrated spirit. Alcohol has the peculiar property of giving a constant boiling-point mixture with water (azeotropic mixture, 97·5 per cent. alcohol) from which the residual water cannot be removed by fractional distillation. But by a method of distillation with benzene or certain other organic substances this residual water can be cheaply removed. This process was first investigated and perfected by Professor Sydney Young, formerly Professor of Chemistry in Trinity College, Dublin. At the present time completely dehydrated alcohol is made in large amounts. In Germany Schweitzer records that 24,000,000 gallons of such alcohol are made annually, in Hungary 5,000,000, and in Czechoslovakia about

8,000,000 gallons. According to McGuire of the Port of New York Authority the development of this absolute alcohol, completely free from water, at small cost is one of the great triumphs of Chemical Industry—yet our country so far has gained nothing from this discovery.

In certain areas such as the Baltic States or Canada, where large forests exist, cheap supplies of raw material in the form of waste wood and sulphite liquors are available for alcohol production. The recent improved methods of acid saccharification introduced by Bergius will hasten the development of the industry in these countries. At the present time there is a factory in operation at Mannheim-Rheinan capable of producing 8,000 tons of pure carbohydrates from wood by acid hydrolysis at a price less than cane sugar can be produced in the torrid zone, and the plant can be readily extended. The production of cheap alcohol from such a process will soon become a practical proposition. I have no first hand knowledge of this process; but a detailed account of the process and its possibilities were given by Dr. Bergius in a paper read before the Institute of Chemical Engineers last November (reprinted in the *Journal of the Society of Chemical Industry*, Vol. 52, p. 1045, 1933). Forestry development has not advanced sufficiently for this process to interest us now; but equivalent raw materials may exist in straw, peat and seaweed. So far, however, the production of alcohol from such sources has not advanced past the laboratory stage; and the same remarks apply to artichokes, which were investigated in this connection some years age.

In the beet sugar industry a large amount of residue (molasses) high in sugar content is produced, and in many countries this is available for alcohol production. It would appear, therefore, that in this residue from our sugar factories we have an obvious source of raw material for industrial alcohol; but on further inquiry the position is not so definite. For every ton of white sugar produced

at the Carlow beet factory approximately four cwts. of molasses are produced. The greater part of these molasses at present is mixed with the drier extracted pulp and is sold to the farmers and merchants as an excellent cattle food. A small amount is also sold as treacle. The sugar content of the molasses is slightly over 50 per cent. and its market value is at present about £2 10s. per ton. One ton of this material will give approximately sixty-five gallons of industrial alcohol, so that the carbohydrate raw material alone for one gallon would cost approximately 9d. No other raw material available can be obtained so cheaply. I understand, however, that there is no surplus for fermentation, as the material is exceptionally valuable as a cattle food. Whether this will be the position in the future with four factories in operation, I am not in a position to state. Assuming an output of 25,000 tons of sugar from each of the four beet factories, this would represent approximately 20,000 tons of molasses. If half of this were available for fermentation it would represent over half a millon gallons of absolute alcohol.

Sugar beet and mangel-wurzel give heavy crops, and with their appreciable sugar content it is obvious that they might be employed directly for alcohol—especially in the central area of the country. In 1919, in a lecture before the Royal Dublin Society, I suggested their use as possible rotation crops in any scheme for alcohol production. One ton of beet-roots of average sugar content will give approximately twenty gallons of industrial alcohol. Beet purchased at 35s. a ton and used directly for fermentation would mean that the raw material for one gallon of industrial alcohol costs about 1s. 9d.

Cereals such as maize, rye, wheat, or barley have a very high starch content and give between 80 and 90 gallons, of industrial alcohol per ton of material. The yield per acre however is low, and consequently the amounts of alcohol per acre of ground cultivated is also comparatively

small—seventy to ninety gallons, while as many as 240 gallons have been obtained from an acre of beet. In any case, these crops are too valuable as food stuffs and command too high a price to justify their employment for cheap alcohol production.

There still remains for consideration one important type of starch-containing crop, namely the potato tuber. The average yield of potatoes in Ireland is stated to be five tons per statute acre. With suitable selection of plant, proper manuring and tillage this figure, it is claimed, could be raised to eight tons or even more per acre.[1] The Irish potato contains on an average about 14—15 per cent. starch. In this connection again experts claim that a different variety of potato could be grown which would give a much higher carbohydrate content (18—20 per cent.). Such potatoes might, on account of flavour, etc., be unsuitable as food, but would be eminently utilisable as raw material for fermentation. Under the best conditions, therefore, we might calculate eight to ten tons of potatoes per acre with an average starch content of 18 per cent. A ton of this material would give about twenty-four gallons of absolute alcohol under practical conditions. It is claimed that such potatoes can be found in certain areas in this country at a figure of 40 to 45s. per ton. In any scheme of development we are assuming that the supply will continue at this low figure. If such is the case we find that the raw material for one gallon of alcohol would cost a figure somewhat under 2s.

Some years ago the conversion of starch to concentrated alcohol and denaturing was calculated to cost about 9d. to 1s. a gallon under ordinary conditions. Possibly under present-day conditions this figure might be lowered. Let us assume an average figure of 8d. per gallon for conversion under the best conditions.

[1] With proper seed selection, manuring, cultivation and spraying, this figure could be raised to over 20 tons per acre (Cf. Dr. H. Kennedy's article on "The Importance of the Potato" in STUDIES, Dec. 1932). But it will take some years before this can be achieved, and my deductions are based on the lower yields.

There is still another charge—namely capital charges and depreciation, say 3d. to 4d. per gallon. The total cost of a gallon of absolute alcohol at the factory would, therefore, be near 3s. per gallon. For the first few years the figure for production will probably be much higher than this ; for it will take time to determine the best conditions for growing high starch-yield crops in high concentration.[1]

While such alcohol might have a limited market, it would be too expensive to use directly as a motor fuel. The problem may, however, be regarded from a more favourable aspect. Following the example of other countries, the alcohol might be mixed in limited amounts with petrol and the increased cost of the mixture be made a charge on the petrol imports. No direct subsidy would be required ; but motor transport would have to bear the new burden. If a 90 per cent. petrol and a 10 per cent. alcohol fuel were made compulsory in this country, the costs would work out as follows :—

If a gallon of petrol costs 4d. with 8d. tax, the cost for 9 gallons will be 108 pence. One gallon of absolute alcohol will cost, taking an outside figure, 42d., and ten gallons of the mixture 150 pence. The comparison of basic prices of petrol and petrol-alcohol mixture per gallon will, therefore, be approximately as 12 pence to 15 pence. This figure makes no allowance for bringing the alcohol and petrol to a common depot and mixing. An outside figure for this would be, say, one penny per gallon. On this calculation the new mixture will be 4d. a gallon dearer than petrol. An additional charge of 4d. per gallon on all petrol imported into the Irish Free State would pay for the whole project and eventually lead to a large increase in tillage. With an import of 36,000,000 gallons of petrol, 3,600,000 gallons of alcohol

[1] The spent wash from the fermentation processes is a valuable cattle food and is claimed to be worth 5 pence per 10 gallons. If this material could obtain a market, it would reduce the price of alcohol 4 pence per gallon.

would be required to give in round figures sufficient liquid fuel mixtures to compare with present total imports of petrol, assuming a 10 per cent. mixture to be adopted. To supply this over 20,000 acres of land would be required to be tilled annually. The above figures assume no great fall in the use of liquid fuels. If the use of the motor-car decreases or if the alcohol supplies expand, the position can still be met by raising the proportion of alcohol in petrol up to 20 or even 25 per cent. This, however, involves a higher tax. In fact, with no motor-car industry whatever, this alcohol even at as high a price as 3s. or 3s. 6d. a gallon for manufacture should have important applications in new industries—*e.g.* explosives, celluloid varnishes, laquers, enamels, artificial silks, soaps, photographic materials, medicinal and other extracts for heating and lighting and as a fuel in engines for agricultural use, or it might even find an outside market.

With the fall in petrol imports, the revenue from the 8d. road tax will fall. This will be less important now than some years ago with the present excellent condition of the majority of our main thoroughfares. If the imports fall considerably, this revenue might have to be met by other means. We have a somewhat anomolous position in the beet sugar industry ; but the difference between the world's sugar price and the cost of production here is considerably closer than that between petrol and home produced alcohol. We have this extraordinary position, that while alcohol costs many times more than petrol, yet it is produced and used in very large amounts in many countries. The first duty in any investigation here would be to compare our country's conditions with those of countries using cheap alcohol and determine if we can manufacture as cheaply as elsewhere. In tropical countries carbohydrates are more readily available ; but the climatic conditions between (say) France and Ireland are not so different as to greatly influence the position.

Possibly on the Continent, by gradual selection and proper cultivation of the ground, the value of tubers has been greatly increased and the starch content raised. The direct burden of increased costs also has been lessened by use of mixed fuels. In addition the industry receives official encouragement and is tax free. The Governments realise that, by encouraging the fermentation of carbohydrates, they are directly helping the farmer and indirectly aiding many subsidiary industries. The French alcohol distiller has the extra advantage of favourable legislation (*e.g.* permission to use the Amylo or even the acid process for saccharification where possible, etc.), which reduces considerably the cost of manufacture. All these factors are of importance and must be taken into account before deciding for or against the alcohol industry here.

The primary object of any scheme substituting native for imported goods is to secure certain social consequences ; and in general this object is attainable only by effecting a redistribution of charges or burdens among the various classes or members of the community. So far as I can see, any scheme for utilising home-produced alcohol involves what is tantamount to a tax upon the users of petrol. There is, of course, nothing abnormal or revolutionary in this. In fact, in many ways it is open to less objection than the similar tax on sugar users which is involved in the establishment of beet sugar factories, since sugar represents 3·24 per cent. of the food expenditure of an average wage-earning household in this country,[1] whereas the (of course indirect) use of petrol products by such a household is negligible. These considerations, however, are beyond the scope of this article. I have shown that the scientific and industrial aspect of the problem is clear, and I have made an unbiased comparison between the cost of imported petrol and home-manufactured alcohol as far as I have data available. The question of relative values and justification for manufacture of

[1] Report on the Cost of Living in Ireland, June 1922, p. 13.

alcohol must be decided by sociologists, economists and political leaders. In conclusion the whole position may be summarised as follows:—

1. Industrial alcohol is an excellent motor fuel; in admixture with petrol it may be used in existing internal combustion engines.

2. At the present time it is much more expensive to produce alcohol than to import petrol. Still many countries, as a national policy, have encouraged and subsidised the industry in the interest of agricultural producers.

3. The most suitable raw materials in this country are beet (and molasses), mangels and potatoes. Beet molasses already appear to have a market in other directions.

4. Under proper conditions and using very modern fermentation methods, it should be possible ultimately to produce industrial alcohol from potatoes in this country at about 3s. per gallon. This may require legislation to modify excise laws.

5. If a tax of 4d. is placed on imported alcohol, this would meet the cost of producing a petrol-alcohol mixture to replace petrol, with some loss to the state in reduced petrol tax.

6. In any scheme of development experimental work is necessary to secure the best yield of tubers of high starch content and to acquire experience in the manufacture and marketing of the alcohol.

7. Such a scheme, when developed, would bring into cultivation over 20,000 acres of land.

8. Without seriously increasing the cost of living, this development will greatly assist agriculture, will establish a large number of new factories in rural districts, and will reduce imports. It raises, however, certain problems which require the attention of the economist and sociologist.

1st Feb. 1934 J. REILLY

Comments on the Foregoing Article

No. 1.—By Henry Kennedy, M.A., D.Sc.

In his article Professor Reilly draws attention to the phenomenon that, while alcohol costs many times more than petrol, it is used as a motor fuel in very large quantities in many countries. Some consideration of the German alcohol industry will explain the phenomenon as it exists there. Alcohol production from potatoes has been fostered by successive Governments in Germany because of its importance in keeping under cultivation the poor soils of the sandy plains east of the Elbe, where the main crops are rye and potatoes. In the farming economy of the large estates, with which the potato alcohol industry has been for the most part associated, the "distillery wash" is regarded as of first rate importance owing to the lack of alternative protein foods for farm animals. Fifty years ago a German Minister, in justifying government support and protection for the industry, emphasised the position of the "distillery wash" in the biological chain of production as follows: "No distilleries, no distillery wash; no wash, no cattle; no cattle, no manure; no manure, no potatoes or rye, and what must follow—the pine!" Foth in his *Handbuch der Spiritusfabrikation*, the standard German work on the subject, says: "The distilleries have been well described as factories for the manufacture of protein concentrates from foods rich in starch and sugar."

In the thirty years prior to 1913 the total alcohol production in Germany did not vary appreciably, averaging about 3,500,000 hectolitres per annum. Of that production, potatoes furnished the raw material to the extent of about 75 per cent. About 2,300,000 hectolitres were consumed in the form of spirituous liquors. A considerable portion of the balance was exported in the early years, the remainder being used in industry. The export trade had practically disappeared in the pre-war days; but the industrial utilisation of alcohol had increased, so that production was maintained.

Since the war, owing to the change in the habits of the people and to a great extent owing to the economic circumstances, there has been a marked diminution in the consumption of spirits. In the years 1927-1929 the average quantity of alcohol for human consumption was about 830,000 hectolitres. But in the years 1930-1932 the amount dropped to an average of 430,000 hectolitres, the figures for 1931-32 being 403,000 hectolitres, corre-

sponding to 18 per cent. of the production for that year. The utilisation of alcohol in industry was reasonably well maintained until the advent of the general world depression. It is since then that the development of alcohol utilisation as a motor fuel has taken place to any substantial extent. That utilisation arises from government action, in the face of diminished human consumption and diminished industrial demand, to maintain an existing industry which has always been regarded as being of unique importance to the peculiar agricultural conditions prevailing in the districts where the distilleries are located.

As regards the cost of production, apart from the raw material, the German official figures seem to indicate that the actual cost would be nearer to the higher than the lower limit set out by Professor Reilly. I would join issue with him, however, with regard to the cost of the raw material. Potatoes are not grown to any great extent in this country as a cash crop and the stimulus to production provided thereby has not existed. In an article in STUDIES of December 1932, attention is drawn to the fact that from the variety trials of the Department of Agriculture an average yield of 15 tons per acre can be obtained. It is not likely that an average of that magnitude would be got in the earlier years of production for a potato industry, but the example of sugar beet production has shown what can be attained under the stimulus of direct cash returns for a crop.

In a country such as this, where grass is so abundant and where forage crops can be so easily produced, it cannot be expected that the " distillery wash " will be regarded as of such importance as in the less favoured soils of Central Europe. Owing, however, to the higher yields possible here, it is probable that, with a reasonable return to the farmer, alcohol could be produced, under favourable conditions of supply of raw material, at something in the neighbourhood of 2s. 6d. per gallon.

The other industries associated with potato culture on the Continent are the manufacture of starch and the production of dried potato flakes as a food for farm animals. The writer of these comments would direct attention to the latter industry as being of more economic importance than the production of alcohol. With potatoes containing 16 per cent. of starch, one ton of potato flakes can be produced from 3·9 tons of potatoes. A price of 30s. per ton delivered at the factory would give the farmer a return comparable with that from sugar beet. The cost of manufacture will be taken at 11s. per ton of potatoes. The total cost of a ton of flakes would, therefore, be $3{\cdot}9 \times 41 = 160$s. A ton of

potato flakes is approximately of the same feeding value as a ton of maize meal, the price of which on a free market would be about 130s. It is submitted that the ratio between cost of production and price on a free market is such as to put an industry for the production of potato flakes in a relatively favourable position among subsidised or protected agricultural industries. It is significant that quite recently in Holland a Government Commission was appointed to study the question of establishing potato flaking factories as a means of maintaining potato production in that country.

HENRY KENNEDY

No. 2.—By Professor John Busteed, M.Comm.

If our industrial arm is to be developed, one of the more obvious lines of development is in the sphere of biochemistry applied to our agricultural produce. *A priori* the production of industrial alcohol from potatoes seems an attractive proposition. The costs however appear to be heavy, and it becomes a matter of opinion rather than proof as to whether the eventual results would justify these costs.

Professor Reilly shows that a petrol tax of 4d. a gallon would finance the venture, if petrol imports did not appreciably decline. Our actual imports have increased remarkably in the last ten years as the following table shows :—

1924 ..	13,000,000 gallons	1929 ..	26,000,000 gallons
1925 ..	16,000,000 ,,	1930 ..	32,000,000 ,,
1926 ..	18,000,000 ,,	1931 ..	45,000,000 ,,
1927 ..	19,000,000 ,,	1932 ..	38,000,000 ,,
1928 ..	25,000,000 ,,	1933 ..	36,000,000 ,,

There has been some decline in the past two years, due partly to the increased petrol tax and partly to the economic depression ; but even yet the consumption is considerably higher than five years ago. Petrol would appear to be able to bear a still heavier tax burden. The heavier tax could be justified in so far as petrol is a luxury article, but its reactions on industrial transport costs might be serious. There are of course even here good arguments for penalising petrol transport in favour of the pre-existing horse and railway transport. A petrol tax is, however, not the only source from which the tax-payer could be compelled to finance the new venture.

As a negative argument we have the knowledge that funds for industrial purposes have been directed into more futile channels by private enterprise. The Macmillan Commission has shown

that 284 companies in Great Britain had, in 1928, £117,000,000 of subscribed capital. Three years later this had shrunk in value to £66,000,000—a dead loss of £51,000,000. If public enterprise had been responsible for this enormous loss, there would have been a vengeful outcry.

The costs need not deter us if the results are worth while. The direct advantages are the maintenance of 20,000 acres of potato tillage. This figure does not appear to be a great increase in our 640,000 acres of tillage, or even in our 340,000 acres of potatoes. It is by no means as important as the wheat or beet policy.

However, the division of the economic spoils between the agricultural and non-agricultural sections of the nation is definitely in favour of the non-agricultural section. Any redistribution in favour of the agriculturist is a matter of social justice. In the case of potato culture the beneficiaries would probably be among the poorer and more deserving tillers of the soil.

There is another advantage, which is vaguer but might be of enormous importance. The proposed scheme would help in the development of a research school of biochemists and allied technicians. One could not forecast Dr. Drumm's electrical work when the Shannon Scheme was being discussed. Similarly the work of young biochemical investigators might not only reduce the costs of the present scheme considerably, but might be of very great economic value in other directions. The cynic might make a very cynical comment on this, but there is no doubt that the brains are there and the opportunities missing. A young Cork boy became the chief chemist of the firm of Bass. That meant much in due course to the firm, to himself and to biochemistry. His talent would have remained undiscovered in Ireland. We do not know what latent talent we have in Ireland, and we cannot place a figure on what expenditure would be justified in providing that talent with opportunity.

One of the obvious directions, as I have said (much more obvious than the importation of mass-machinery industries for which we have no tradition), is the application of biochemistry to the products of our soil. The production of industrial alcohol is an example of what might be done in this direction, a direction in which we already have the example of the other countries mentioned by Professor Reilly. For that reason I would give it a hesitant blessing—hesitant because the subsidy costs of those 20,000 acres appear as yet to be high. The final assessing of the advantages against the costs must be a matter of opinion and

faith rather than of close arithmetical proof. Whatever experimental scheme is set on foot, however, it is to be hoped that, unlike in the beet scheme, some competent and thorough effort will be made after a period to enumerate and evaluate statistically its social reactions. JOHN BUSTEED

No. 3.—By Lieut.-Col. K. E. Edgeworth, D.S.O., A.M.I.E.E.

The question of developing the production of industrial alcohol is only a small part of a much larger problem. In the modern world the ideal of world-wide efficiency has given place to the ideal of national self-sufficiency, and a necessary consequence of this latter policy is a large measure of government interference in various branches of trade and industry.

Accepting this interference as a necessary evil, however, there still remains the question of what form the interference should take, and it is necessary to arrive at a decision as to whether any particular scheme is worth proceeding with or not. The character of the scheme for mixing alcohol with petrol is clear enough : it is a scheme for taxing road transport in order to subsidise the farmer.

From the political standpoint this scheme has considerable advantages, since the tax falls either upon the private motorist who has little political influence and is pretty well able to pay, or else upon public companies who possess facilities for passing on the charge to the unsuspecting public. It has moreover the further advantage that, when once established, the majority of people fail to realise that it is a tax at all. The adoption of the scheme for mixing alcohol with petrol in various countries is no doubt due to this and other causes of a non-economic character.

From the economic standpoint the value of the scheme must evidently be judged by the amount of employment which it will create as compared with the cost of creating it, and judged by this standard the scheme appears in a very unfavourable light indeed. Professor Reilly estimates that the cost of producing industrial alcohol is about nine times the cost of petrol—3s. as against 4d. per gallon, or perhaps more. Similar estimates of the cost in various countries are contained in an article in the *Economist* of the 13th of January. The writer of that article shows that in the United States it would have been considerably cheaper to buy maize and burn it instead of converting it into alcohol, and he concludes his article as follows :—

> "The examples here quoted furnish striking evidence of the degree to which Governments are prepared, or compelled,

> to go in distorting their national economics in the interests of agrarian producers. In every instance the clear indications of relative costs and of falling agricultural prices has been ignored, and expedients have been invoked which adapt the whole national economy to disproportional agricultural production, instead of curtailing uneconomic agricultural production, and so restoring equilibrum in the national economy as a whole. Among such ill-considered expedients state-fostered alcohol-fuel industries take no insignificant place."

Unfortunately, the economist is not entirely free to press the side of the case which is presented above. Mr. J. M. Keynes, in a recent article in which he advocated schemes for expenditure on public works, has remarked that it is not the business of the economist to decide on the relative merits of different schemes ; and herein lies the weakness of the economist's position. If he lays undue emphasis on the disadvantages of particular schemes, he exposes himself to the retort which was made by Old Bill to the other occupant of his shell-hole—" If you know a better 'ole, go to it."

The scientist and the engineer do not however labour under this disadvantage, for they have definite suggestions to offer. The scientist's explanation of all difficulties is that they arise from lack of knowledge, and his invariable remedy is research.

Of course there are different kinds of research. We are not here thinking so much of fundamental research such as that which is associated with the name of the late Professor Joly, although the importance of such research can never be sufficiently emphasised. What is of special importance in the present connection is research which is specifically directed towards the solution of the particular problems which concern the Irish Free State. What would suggest itself is the creation of a Board of Research devoted to the business of studying the possibilities of development of Irish industries and endowed with sufficient funds to pursue these studies effectively. The primary duty of such a Board would be to keep in touch with the progress of industrial development elsewhere. Its secondary duty would be to make special investigation of such problems as might appear to be of importance to the Irish Free State.

The engineer can also, I think, make certain suggestions which may be helpful. Starting with the proposal that the motorist should be taxed in order to provide employment, he may point out that there is a considerable wastage of life due to road acci-

dents and that this loss of life could be materially reduced by road improvements. There would be no need to purchase plant outside the country, and the improvements effected, even if not worth the total amount of money expended on them, would at least be of permanent value.

Another scheme which is worthy of examination is the use of peat as an alternative to petrol-alcohol as a motor fuel. The use of solid fuels in gas producers associated with internal combustion engines is well known. The gas produced from coal, the best known solid fuel, contains tars which have to be removed before it can be used in an internal combustion engine, and the apparatus which is required for cleaning it is too elaborate to be suitable for use in mobile equipment. Considerable progress has however been made with gas producers using charcoal and peat, and further investigation might remove the remaining difficulties.

Now I am not sufficiently well acquainted with the details of existing knowledge on the subject to enable me to express an opinion as to the future prospects of the gas producers using peat fuel as a source of power for motor transport. I merely wish to contend that the scheme is worthy of examination and is on the face of it much more promising than the scheme for producing power alcohol.

The new methods of producing petrol from coal and crude oil are no doubt applicable to peat and should not be overlooked.

Summing up the position, I cannot help feeling that the petrol-alcohol scheme must be regarded as the last resort of the destitute. Before we admit that we are so far bankrupt of ideas that we are compelled to adopt it, I think we ought to explore the possibilities which certainly exist in other directions.

K. E. Edgeworth

No. 4.—By Professor G. A. Duncan, F.T.C.D.

Professor Reilly is careful to give no unqualified approval to the large scale manufacture of industrial alcohol in Ireland. Apart from a passing acquiescence (pp. 3, 12) in the hoary " adverse balance of trade " superstition, he skims lightly over the economic aspects and, in the main, sticks justly to his last as a chemist. The adoption of this and similar proposals (*e.g.*, manufacture of beet sugar) involves the tacit acceptance of a whole series of rather astounding assumptions. The assumption underlying them, in general, is that a " country " benefits in some obscure way by the maintenance within its political borders, with the aid of direct

or indirect subsidies, of an industry whose costs are so high that it could not otherwise survive there, and would either exist otherwhere (where its costs are for some natural cause lower), or nowhere, except as an experiment in pursuit of further knowledge. Professor Reilly complains that Ireland "so far has gained nothing" from Professor Sydney Young's discovery; it is difficult to see what any other "country" has gained either. *Prima facie* this general assumption is absurd, and requires proof before it can be accepted, proof that is never offered. It ignores completely the reactions which the diminution of the incomes either of the persons engaged in some competing occupation which is being damaged, or of the taxpayers who provide a direct subsidy, or of the exporters whose produce purchases the hated import, or of all three classes in different proportions, will have upon the production of and employment in other industries.

This particular proposal invites us to assume, in the first place, that it "would *bring* into cultivation over 20,000 acres of land" (p. 12). Apart from the inconsistency of this with the remark on p. 1 that thereby "a market is found for *surplus* agricultural products," it asks us to suppose that the acreage of potatoes necessary to supply the estimated amount of alcohol would be cultivated in addition to and not in partial substitution for the existing amount of tillage. Fortunately we have experimental evidence with which to catechise this assumption. In 1925 no sugar beet was grown in the Irish Free State; in 1930 (the latest year for which I have statistics conveniently available) 14,388 acres were grown, of which 14,272 were in ten counties each of which grew more than 100 acres. But in these ten counties the total area cultivated (in corn, root and green crops, flax and fruit) fell from 601,584 to 563,612 acres, or 6·3 per cent.; in the remaining sixteen non-beet counties cultivation dropped from 969,617 to 894,853 acres, or 7·7 per cent. The artificial stimulation of beet-growing, on a scale comparable with the suggested potato-growing for distilling industrial alcohol, can hardly be said to have "brought 14,000 acres under cultivation." Have we any reason to suppose the potato assumption any more justified?

This particular proposal invites us to assume, in the second place, that the reactions upon other incomes and occupations can be ignored. Are we entitled to assume that the shifting of the burden would stop short with those who use motor transport directly? Surely that is a severe strain on our credulity. Even if we suppose (which is manifestly unlikely) the consumption of motor fuel to be so inelastic that, notwithstanding an increase of

its price by 20 per cent., its consumption remains unchanged at *c* 40,000,000 gallons, that involves an additional expenditure of £667,000 per annum by all the persons in the Irish Free State who use motors. Quite apart from the possibility that this increase in their costs might drive some enterprises into liquidation and add their employés to the total of unemployed, is it conceivable that so great a transfer of expenditure on the part of the motor-users could take place without causing a loss of income and employment, in the industries on whose products the motor-users formerly spent the income thus transferred, at least as great as that created among the potato-distillers ?

Can we assume that the people engaged in the production of alcohol will be willing and able to purchase approximately the same quantities of the same things at the same prices as the people who now spend £667,000 per annum on things other than petrol and the people who now earn an income by selling their petrol in the Irish Free State ? The assumption is a little far-fetched, and unless it can be accepted the whole argument fails, for the income and employment created for the potato-distillers would be balanced by income and employment destroyed elsewhere. If, again, we suppose the consumption of motor fuel to have an elasticity equal to unity, so that an increase in its retail price from 1s. 8d. to 2s. per gallon results in a decrease in its consumption from 40 to 33 million gallons, the resulting consequences remain much the same : monetarily, the loss is distributed in some uncertain manner over the whole mass of exporters whose produce purchased the destroyed imports of £180,000 worth of petrol, and by them passed on in diminished purchases of the goods they consume, whether native or imported, and so *ad infinitum* ; there is, in addition, the real loss inflicted on the motor-using community by having to pay the same sum of money for a smaller use of their vehicles. If, again (as is not improbable in view of the exceptionally heavy burdens at present laid upon the motoring community in the pursuit of a number of unverified assumptions), the elasticity of consumption of motor fuel is now more than unity, so that a 20 per cent. increase in its retail price would be met by a more than corresponding decline in its consumption, not only are the reactions upon other incomes and occupations referred to in the previous sentences rendered more severe, but the estimated acreage of potatoes is severely reduced. Nor could this situation be met, as suggested on p. 10, by increasing the alcohol proportion ; for that would increase the price still further and still more drastically curtail the consumption. In

this case the aggregate expenditure on fuel of motor-users would diminish, and those who were not dependent upon motor-use for their incomes would have more income free for expenditure on other things; but can we suppose it would be spent on those things which now fail to find a market among the petrol-sellers and those whose incomes depend directly on motor-use?

Professor Reilly characterises as extraordinary the position that, though alcohol costs many times more than petrol, yet it is produced and used in very large amounts in many countries; he is correct, but that is scarcely a reason why we should imitate these countries.

G. A. DUNCAN

No. 5.—By JAMES J. DRUMM, D.Sc.

FROM a careful study of Professor Reilly's interesting article on industrial alcohol it would seem that the facts of the situation will require to be carefully weighed, if a satisfactory case is to be made for producing alcohol on a large scale in this country from the carbohydrates of native crops. Professor Reilly is known to have had wide and practical experience of the technical management of large industrial plants for the production of the various alcohols by the different fermentations of starch and other carbohydrates. As typical of the most efficient practice, we may therefore accept the figure of 1s. per gallon given by him for the total cost of converting starch to absolute ethyl alcohol. Accordingly, the complete cost of one gallon of absolute alcohol is 1s. 9d. if produced from beet molasses (an essential by-product of our beet sugar industry), whilst the cost per gallon becomes 3s. if the alcohol is brewed from a potato crop costing 45s. per ton and yielding 10 tons per acre with an average starch content of 18 per cent.

From reliable statistics, however, the ordinary edible varieties of potatoes as grown by our farmers yield twelve tons per acre in a normal season and could be delivered at the factory at 35s. per ton. On the latter basis, the raw material corresponding to one gallon of absolute alcohol would cost 1s. 9d. Furthermore, taking into account the valuable wash from the fermentation processes, which on the Continent is always used as a cattle food, the raw materials for one gallon of alcohol would be further reduced by 4d. to 1s. 5d. This would indicate that industrial absolute alcohol could be produced from the normal Irish potato crop for a total cost of 2s. 5d. per gallon.

If the special variety of potato with a starch content of 18-20 per cent., which is used for the production of alcohol on the Continent, is adopted here and if, in addition, this variety can be

made to yield 12 tons per acre on Irish soil, then the cost of the alcohol would drop a further 6d. per gallon to 23d. At a cost of 23d. per gallon, absolute alcohol in 10 per cent. admixture with petrol would only increase the cost of the latter 2·5d. per gallon.

If factories for producing alcohol from potatoes are actually set up in this country, then the 20,000 tons annual output of molasses from our four sugar factories must be carefully reconsidered. Along with the fermentation wash from the breweries, there would likely be a surplus of winter cattle food available. Assuming that half of the 20,000 tons of molasses were available for fermentation, a further 500,000 gallons of absolute alcohol would be available at a cost of 1s. 9d. per gallon.

The case to be made in favour of potato crop cultivation for the production of industrial alcohol may, however, be appreciably strengthened by manufacturing pure starch and glucose from the crude starch of the potato. Let us consider the latter substance first. Glucose is a sugar which is extensively employed in the manufacture of confectionery and jams. In the year 1933 this country imported 3,500 tons of glucose valued at £43,000. As is well known, the sugar glucose is readily obtained by the hydrolysis of starch. The conversion is usually carried out by heating a dilute starch solution with 2 per cent. sulphuric acid ; 100 tons of solid starch may be taken as yielding 100 tons of glucose syrup.

This proposal is all the more attractive at present, since a complete plant for the manufacture of glucose from potatoes was purchased some years ago by Irish Agricultural Industries, Ltd., Athlone, who, however, never put the plant into actual operation. This plant, which cost £10,000, is at present available for purchase.

To produce 3,500 tons of glucose approximately the same weight in tons of starch would be necessary, corresponding to approximately 24,000 tons of ordinary edible potatoes or an extra 2,000 acres of crops.

With regard to the manufacture of pure starch from potatoes, the position is not so straightforward. Pure starch for laundry work requires to be completely free from colouring matter. Potato starch tends to give coloured products, and for this reason rice starch has hithertofore been preferred. The problem of producing pure, colourless, laundry starch from potatoes, however, is one which is bound to yield to a modest piece of research. In the year 1932 rather more than 300 tons of laundry starch, valued at £8,250, were imported into this country. In addition, starch is used for other purposes, *e.g.*, in the manufacture of paper.

Let us return once more to the question of dearer petrol as a

result of blending industrial alcohol with it. In the year 1932, there were in the Saorstát 36,000 private automobiles and 5,700 motor cycles licensed and in use on the roads. In addition, 13,500 commercial types of vehicles (hackneys, buses, commercial goods vehicles) were also in use on the roads. The latter class of vehicles, although much less numerous, may safely be considered to have consumed the same amount of petrol as both of the former classes together.

Accordingly, half of the extra tax of 2·5d. per gallon on petrol will have to be borne by the commercial transport trade. This increased transport cost will ultimately have to be borne by the public served, but especially by the farming community (who live mostly remote from the large centres of population). This would undoubtedly constitute a further objection to the production of fuel alcohol from home raised carbohydrates, were it not possible for the writer definitely to state that accumulator traction is about to develop in this country on the roads, especially for most purposes of commercial transport. Accordingly, the costs of commercial transport in many cases will be actually reduced from its present figures. At least 60 per cent. of present petrol trucks and lorries on the roads can be easily replaced by electric vehicles driven by our new Irish accumulators using Shannon electricity as a primary source of power. Such battery electric vehicles, for each useful load ton-mile of service rendered, will cost 0·35d. for electric power as against 1·1d. per ton-mile for petrol for the present vehicles in vogue. All this will have to be very seriously considered, because the advent of battery electric road traction will quickly alter the relative incidence of the proposed increase of the petrol tax on the various classes of consumers of the fuel. Generally, it may be expected that the users of private automobiles will have to contribute considerably more than 2·5d. per gallon for the extra cost of the new petrol-alcohol fuel. This may, however, be quite reasonable since private automobiles are largely used for purposes of pleasure and convenience, and in cases where their use is for professional or commercial purposes, less costly battery-driven runabouts will be shortly available.

J. J. Drumm

THE CELTIC TWILIGHT

BY FRANCIS SHAW, S.J., M.A.

THE "Celtic Twilight," originally the title of a book of stories from the pen of Mr. Yeats, is the name by which that literary work of the Anglo-Irish poets, which purports to be inspired by and to derive from Celtic sources, is now popularly known. Alternatively it is styled the Celtic Revival or Celtic Renaissance, the inference being that in this modern poetry the spirit of Celtic or Irish literature lives again. I say Celtic or Irish literature; for, as the sources drawn from are almost exclusively Irish, in this context Celtic may be taken to be synonymous with Irish. I hope to show in this article that this Anglo-Irish poetry is in no true sense Celtic, that its most distinctive qualities—especially its indolent dreaminess, nebulous vagueness and exaggerated melancholy—are peculiarly un-Celtic. I shall endeavour to prove that the idea of the characteristically Celtic which—if I may be allowed to mix a metaphor—is the corner-stone of the "Celtic Twilight," is in its genesis and development essentially non-Celtic, that it is a product of the exaggerated Romanticism of the eighteenth century, that it has been fostered by ill-informed criticisms of Celtic literature, and finally that it has drawn much of its force from untrustworthy and highly-coloured translations, in which the subjective contribution of the translator and not the original has been the chief source of inspiration. Much mutual borrowing and uninspired imitation are the last but not the least important elements which go to make up the "Celtic Twilight."

In an article in the *Irish Review* (Dec. 1913), and in his *Phases of Irish History*, Professor MacNeill has traced the development of the "Celtic consciousness."

To a Scottish Gael, George Buchanan, who wrote towards the close of the sixteenth century, is due the credit for the discovery of the linguistic affinity of the Irish, Welsh and Scottish peoples. That Buchanan did in fact make a real discovery can be seen from the fact that the Irish genealogists trace the descent of the Irish and Welsh peoples from entirely different stock. Buchanan's discovery aroused little interest. Not till a whole century has passed do we find the next link in the chain of "Celtic consciousness." In the year 1707 Edward Llwyd published the *Archaeologica Britannica*. Fifty years later, in the year 1755, Gray wrote his famous ode *The Bard*. We must pause reverently here; for undoubtedly with *The Bard* there appears for the first time that concept and idea of Celtic literature which since then has grown and waxed strong, and which to-day forms the warp and woof of the Anglo-Irish literature of the Celtic Revival. Gray was wholly unqualified for the task of interpreting for English readers the spirit of Celtic literature. He is supposed to have been inspired to write this poem by hearing a blind Welsh bard perform on the harp; but, as Mr. Robin Flower writes in *Ireland and Medieval Europe*, "Gray invented the Bard, and there could be nothing less like the poet of the Irish or Welsh Middle Ages than the mystic suicide of his famous ode." In a few pregnant paragraphs in this invaluable essay Mr. Flower states decisively and cogently the case against the "Celtic Twilight." Want of space alone prevents me from giving all his words.

The Bard was followed in the year 1760 by Macpherson's *Fragments of Ancient Poetry*, and the judgment that *The Bard* was the literary parent of "Ossian" is in no sense a *post hoc ergo propter hoc* argument. If Gray is to be indicted on the charge of planting the seed of this Celtic imposture, Macpherson will certainly be found guilty of aiding and abetting in the first degree, for he proved himself most assiduous in watering the promising

bud. Macpherson was a man possessing a mind distinctly alarming in its originality. He drew on his imagination with a liberality which is refreshing. Not only did he invent a diction of his own ; but the content of the supposed translations was almost entirely the creature of his fertile brain. Even the proper-names are daring, half-plausible inventions, themselves sufficiently displaying the author's ignorance of or disregard for Gaelic. His poems are a riot of colourful words and bombastic phrases with a minimum of meaning and content. A strange atmosphere of unreality and wild melancholy pervades his pages. He was deeply influenced by the Romantic Movement. The extravagant romanticism and melancholy are especially due to the influence on him of contemporary English and French thought, particularly of the writings of Young and Rousseau. That, in spite of his originality, his work was essentially a child of his time and of the Romantic Movement is best established by the popularity which his writings enjoyed, a popularity wholly out of proportion to their intrinsic literary merit. In spite of the controversy which soon arose concerning the authenticity of Macpherson's "translations," this misrepresentation—one might say travesty—of Celtic literature made a profound and lasting impression. Deep unhealthy melancholy and colourful word-weaving were henceforth the accepted marks of Celtic literature. Macpherson's style established a tradition for translations from Celtic originals, with the result that a strong subjective element was introduced where it was of such importance that precisely the subjective element should be excluded.

In particular the work of Standish James O'Grady, upon which the neo-Celtic poets drew so liberally, reflects the influence of Macpherson. O'Grady is bombastic not only in word but in thought also. His style is verbose and flamboyant. His writings are one long sustained purple passage. The atmosphere of his *History of Ireland :*

The Heroic Period is that unreal, semi-mysterious atmosphere which, though wholly foreign to the sagas which he re-tells, is essentially related to that dream-laden, exotic air which we breathe in the Celtic Twilight. In marked contrast to the terse, epigrammatic diction of the older Irish sagas is the flowery verbiage of O'Grady's style. He introduces frequent apostrophies in the manner of Macpherson. "Thereat the blood forsook thy face, O Setanta, O peerless one, and thou stoodest like a still figure carved out of white marble, with the pallor of death in thy immortal face"[1]—where the Old Irish writer, if it did ever enter his head to apostrophise Cú Chulainn, would probably have said '*Maith, a Chú,*' or words to that effect!

In saying that this false concept of Celtic literature was fostered by ill-informed literary criticism I refer especially to Ernest Renan and Matthew Arnold, whose picture of Celtic literature, as Mr. Flower has written, "does not carry any conviction to those who read the original texts in their own setting."

Renan, although himself a Breton Celt, was ill-qualified indeed to study and interpret the spirit of Celtic literature. It is clear from his essay on "The Poetry of the Celtic Races" that his sources were: for Welsh literature the translation of the Mabinogion and for Irish literature the Voyages of St. Brendan and Charlotte Brooke's *Reliques of Irish Poetry.* Renan's characterisation of the Celt is too well-known to require repetition; but a few excerpts from his essay may help us to recall its tone. "Compared with the classical imagination, the Celtic imagination is indeed the infinite contrasted with the finite . . . . . So it is with the Celtic race; it has worn itself out in taking dreams for realities and in pursuing its splendid visions . . . . . Its history is itself only one long lament . . . . . If at times it seems to be cheerful, a tear is not slow to glisten behind its smile;

[1] *Coming of Cuculain,* p. 43.

it does not know that strange forgetfulness of human conditions and destinies which is called gaiety."

Arnold's qualifications for the study of Celtic literature were almost as meagre as those of Renan. He was strongly influenced by Macpherson and was labouring under the added disability of having read the misleading views of Renan. In the well-known "Essay on the Study of Celtic Literature" Arnold has given us a full-length portrait of the Celt. The Celt is a pathetically languishing figure, incurably romantic and tragically ineffectual. Though gifted with humour and 'natural magic,' he is ever bent down under a 'Titanic' melancholy. The Celt is a dreamer, loving his dream, "always ready to react against the despotism of fact"—a phrase borrowed by Arnold from the French writer, Henri Martin. Being unpractical and ineffectual, he is always defeated. At the head of his Essay and as the text of his whole discourse, Arnold has put the phrase: "They went forth to the war," says Ossian, "but they always fell"; and it is significant that this Ossian is not Oisin of the Irish *Fianaigecht*, but the impostor-poet of Macpherson's fabrications. The Celt is "undisciplinable, anarchical and turbulent by nature." We read of "the Celt's failure to reach any material civilisation, sound and satisfying, and not out at elbows, poor, slovenly, half-barbarous." He is constitutionally incapable of great achievement. "Balance, measure and patience, these are the eternal conditions, even supposing the happiest temperament to start with, of high success; and balance, measure and patience are just what the Celt has never had." Instead he has infinite sentiment (in Arnold's sense of the word) with a minimum of steadfastness and sanity. He is suffering—as it has been well put—from "a double dose of original sin." Such is Arnold's patronisingly sympathetic judgment. The corollary is of course obvious. The literature of the Celt must reflect these qualities. It must lack balance, measure

and patience; it must be passionate and undisciplined; sentiment without limit there must be and a twilight vagueness in which the Celtic dreamer may wander where he will.

A word here concerning the influence of Moore. Moore's verses, wedded as they were to many of the finest Irish melodies, did much to popularise the notion that Irish poetry and Irish music were predominantly sentimental and melancholic; for his poetry is rich in sentiment and sentimental melancholy, and (unless I am much mistaken) the poet's words were responsible for suggesting a sentimental and melancholic interpretation of the music frequently quite foreign to its true spirit. A comparison of Moore's words and interpretation with the traditional rendering and text (where it is extant) will confirm this view. One example which occurs to me is Moore's original poem "Has Sorrow Thy Young Days Shaded?" with its empty sentiment and melancholy, and the Irish song "An Caol Druimeann Og" which is traditionally sung to this air.

In most cases of translation from the Irish by Anglo-Irish poets, it will be found that the sentimental element in the translation is the subjective contribution of the translator. Mangan's "Ode to the Maguire," a translation of Eochaidh O Heoghusa's "Fúar liom an adhaighsi dh' Aodh," is often chosen by lecturers on Anglo-Irish poetry as an outstanding example of faithful translation. Dr. Bergin has published the Irish poem in *Studies*[1] and has shown how, apart from the consistent inaccuracy in the matter of details, Mangan (or Ferguson who acted as intermediary) has completely failed to grasp the spirit of the Irish poem. As Dr. Bergin notes, "the great captain who is ravaging Desmond is turned into a poor wanderer, lonely, persecuted and betrayed, cheered only by memories, and warmed only by 'the lightning of the soul'." What concerns us especially here is the fact

[1] *Studies*, Sept. 1921.

that this sentimental pity is the specifically Anglo-Irish element in Mangan's poem.

Incidentally, in the picture of the Celt which Mr. Chesterton gives us in " The Ballad of the White Horse " there seems to me to be much of the stuff of Arnold and Macpherson. Colan of Caerleon is a strangely mysterious figure who dwelt

> In a great grey cave far off to the south
> Where a thick green forest stopped the mouth,
> Giving darkness in his den.
>
> And the man was come like a shadow
> From the shadow of Druid trees,
> Where Usk with mighty murmurings,
> Past Caerleon of the fallen kings,
> Goes out to ghostly seas.

The description would have delighted Arnold. And how strongly does it smell of the atmosphere of Macpherson's Fingal and Temora and, more important still, how perfectly does it portray the Celt who lives in the pages of the Celtic Revivalists. The Celt of Mr. Yeats's poem is " haunted by numberless islands and many a Danaan shore," and the Celt of Mr. Chesterton's Ballad, though a great fighter, is a great dreamer too.[1]

> And whether in seat or saddle,
> Whether with frown or smile,
> Whether at feast or fight was he,
> He heard the noise of a nameless sea
> On an undiscovered isle.

It is fine poetry, and the very lilt of the metre itself almost compels conviction. But making every allowance for poetic licence, does it give us a true objective picture of the Celt ?

In any case the picture is complete. The Celt, the

[1] Compare those lines of another Anglo-Irish poet :—

> All day I hear the noise of waters
> Making moan,
> Sad as the sea-bird is when going
> Forth alone
> He hears the winds cry to the waters'
> Monotone.

mystic suicide of Gray's Ode, the languishing romantic of Renan and Arnold, Colan, the shadowy dreamer "from the shadow of Druid trees," wanders in romantic ineffectualness in a twilight world of half-lights, in Temora's mysterious regions. This is the Celt, as we shall see later, who has given its name to the "Celtic Twilight." But first the relation of this creature to the Celt of fact and history must be examined.

Even a moderate acquaintance with the history of the Celtic peoples is sufficient to discredit this characterisation of the Celt. In the very earliest period we find the Celts, as a dominant military power, spreading out over Europe. Later, in their struggle against the Romans, they exhibit no small degree of military efficiency and strategy. Vercingetorix, near in time and space to the cradle of the Celtic peoples, was a military general of the first order, possessing in a high degree those very virtues which Arnold would have us believe to be peculiarly un-Celtic. In resisting the attacks of the Norsemen, the Celtic peoples, though geographically much exposed to attack, proved themselves anything but ineffectual. Later still they resisted stoutly the progress of their military superiors, the Normans, and they were pertinacious in defending their distinctive culture. Had the Irish, for example, submitted to the Normans as the Anglo-Saxons did, they would most certainly have bettered the material conditions of their existence, but Ireland would have ceased to be Celtic, as England ceased in reality to be Anglo-Saxon. If there exist nothing else but material comfort and civilisation, if spiritual and cultural values are to be denied or to be identified with dreams and visions and chimeras, then are the Celts assuredly ineffectual. But if such things as spiritual principles and cultural values be admitted, and if their reality be granted, are the Celts to be dubbed ineffectual dreamers because they happen to value these more highly than their worldly-wise neighbours ?

What does the history of our own country teach us about this matter? Take for example the five centuries following the introduction of Christianity by St. Patrick, five centuries when the Celt was least affected by admixture of foreign blood. Consider the elaborate social and political structure, of which Professor MacNeill has written in *Celtic Ireland*. The intricate code of laws, the Senchus Már, with its detailed classification of crime and punishment according to social grade and varying circumstance, occurs to the mind. There are too the highly-organised and well-disciplined schools of learning—and especially the extraordinary popularity and flourishing condition of strict monasticism. In vain do we seek for the melancholic suicide, the ineffectual dreamer, the incurably romantic.

To this period too belong the best specimens of artistic work on vellum and in metal. These show in the designing a keen sense of balance and measure, and in the execution an infinite degree of patience. Could Arnold have explained, we wonder, why the scribe of the Book of Kells should have taken such pains to secure perfect exactness and symmetry? Would it not have been more Celtic to have let his quill trail about the page in poetic abandon, tracing out fantastic images to rival the futuristic freaks of our own day? Should we not have expected that, in periodic moments of reaction against the despotism of fact, he would at least have splashed the ink about or stamped upon his quill? But Arnold disposes of this whole subject with a passing reference to "the comparatively petty art of ornamentation." Lest anyone should think that my criticism of Arnold and Renan and the others of whom I have spoken is unjustly severe, I may say that I have only been concerned with assessing their influence in the formation of this 'neo-Celtic' idea. For the most part I have only pointed out what I consider to be false in them. Further my criticism is directed not so much against them per-

sonally as against those who, ignoring the progress which Celtic studies have made in the last fifty years, go on repeating slavishly and parrot-like the many striking catch-cries which for example Arnold's Essay affords. This criticism is all the more called for in view of the fact that what is erroneous in these writings is precisely what is most often reiterated.

As the history of the Celtic peoples reveals the falseness of this popular concept of the Celt, so too does the literature of the Celtic peoples make manifest the counterfeit character of this modern "twilight" imitation. Those who have made the acquaintance of Irish and Welsh literature at first hand are unanimous in stigmatising as spurious the dreamy, misty, melancholic counterfeit of the "Celtic Twilight." Over twenty years ago, Alfred Nutt observed the poison of Arnold's doctrine working itself into the system of the Celtic Renaissance. "How many a sermon eloquent or otherwise," he writes, "has been preached on the texts of Celtic 'Titanism,' of the Celt's 'passionate, turbulent, indomitable reaction against the despotism of fact'? These catchwords have fired a whole generation of writers; they have been largely instrumental in setting up, before the literature of the Celtic Revival, a definite aim and purpose."[1] The definite aim was the creation of a body of Anglo-Irish literature, Celtic in spirit according to Renan's and Arnold's interpretation of the characteristically Celtic, that is to say, saturated with 'Celtic' dreaminess and 'Celtic' melancholy. Dr. Kuno Meyer, one of the greatest of Celtic scholars and a man who spent nearly forty years in the work of editing Irish texts wrote: "The so-called Celtic revivalists content themselves with imitating what they consider to be the genuine spirit of Gaelic poetry—though to many their work seems a mere reclothing of mysticism [did he mean mistiness?] in a

[1] Matthew Arnold's *Essay on the Study of Celtic Literature*, edited by Alfred Nutt. London. 1910. p. xxiii.

Gaelic dress."[1] Mr. Robin Flower, the Keeper of the Irish manuscripts in the British Museum and a recognised authority on Irish literature, says that the true characteristics of Irish literature "are the extreme antithesis of the twilight vagueness which in popular criticism is often associated with the word 'Celtic.'" In his book *Die Seele Irlands* Dr. Pokorny, Professor of Celtic in the University of Berlin, contrasts the simplicity and clearness of old Irish poetry with the artificiality and mistiness of the 'neo-Celtic' school. "Irish poetry possessed in a high degree those two qualities which are the marks of all true poetry: sincerity (*Wahrheit*) and clarity. Every insincere artifice and mannerism was as foreign to it as that mystical confusion which the modern decadent English school of poetry is so desirous to read into it."[2] These opinions do not come, as is clear, from prejudiced sources; they are the considered judgments of men who at least are not dependent on translations of the literature about which they speak.

Early Irish literature—which, it will be admitted is most Celtic and least affected by foreign influences—is certainly no region of twilight mistiness. The old pagan sagas are bold and direct, clear and well-defined. They exhibit if anything 'a passion for strong primary colours.' The characters in these old stories move in a world of strong lights and deep shadows. They are full of strong and vigorous action; they are full-blooded and robust and have nothing in common with the indolent, dreamy, anaemic creatures who go mooning through the "Celtic Twilight." Mysticism there is, as in all great literatures, but it is never mere mistiness. It is essentially a land of

[1] *Sagas and Songs of the Gael.* Quarterly Review, July 1903.

[2] In his *Die älteste Lyrik der grünen Insel* (1923) the same author writes: "Irish literature has been wrongfully represented as being dark, mysterious and sickly sentimental. It is difficult to imagine anything more clear, fresh and healthily unsophisticated than the old lyrical poetry . . . . . The spread of the notion that a despairing melancholy pervades all Celtic poetry is to be traced back to that decadent, hypersensitive Anglo-Irish school of poetry which, without possessing any real knowledge of Celtic literature, proposes to interpret the 'Celtic note' to the English-speaking world."

morning freshness, filled with the all-pervading charm of simplicity and sincerity. The language, as a rule, especially in the older versions, is terse. There is much beauty of description and much elaboration of detail, but words are seldom wasted and are never meaningless.[1] The "Táin bó Cuailnge" (in the oldest version), the "Death-Tales of the Ulster Heroes," the "Longes mac nUsnig" or indeed, I think, any of the older sagas might be cited in support of what has been said.

In the ancient poetry the same characteristics will be found, and these indeed intensified. The peculiar charm of the early poems is their freshness and simplicity. They are wonderfully simple and clear. Of many of them one might say what Dr. MacNeill has said of some later lyrics, that they are "as spontaneous and irresponsible as the song of a bird when the rain clouds have gone by." True to Nature, of which they so often sing, these poems reflect that order and restraint which is itself the beauty of Nature. There is in them no vulgar lavishing of "dubiously poetic language"; they have no heart for insincerities, no care for word-weaving, and above all no thought for saying striking things. Their delicate restraint in the use of colours results in an image not less vivid. Pure, exuberant, full of a simple joy in life, rejoicing in the natural beauty of the world about, these poems may be said to be in spirit directly opposed to the unhealthy pessimism and the studied artificiality of the "Celtic Twilight."

Space does not permit me to quote more than a few

[1] I am not overlooking the so-called 'rhetorics' in the old sagas; for, apart from other considerations, it is very probable that they are of foreign origin. The frequent meaningless *chevilles* in Bardic poetry are only an artificial device to meet the exigencies of the very difficult bardic metres. The turgid style of many later prose compositions marks a stage of degeneration, probably due to the practice of reciting them aloud. Thus long strings of alliterative adjectives, which in written prose are a decided blemish, added much vigour and colour to the recited composition. It should be noted too that in speaking of Irish literature I use the word in its stricter sense of creative literature, of belles-lettres. Especially the bardic poetry has suffered much from the canker of convention; but while it often contents itself with colourless generalities, the language is always singularly concise. I am not aware of any body of creative prose or poetry in Irish which could be called dreamy or misty or characterised by the word 'twilight.'

lines here. I would refer the reader who cannot read the originals, if he wishes to test my description of early Irish poetry, to Kuno Meyer's *Selections from Ancient Irish Poetry* (Constable 1928). The old Irish poet greets the summer :

Summer has come, healthy and free,
Whence the brown wood is bent to the ground ;
The slender nimble deer leap,
And the path of seals is smooth.

The cuckoo sings gentle music,
Whence there is smooth peaceful calm ;
Gentle birds skip upon the hill,
And swift grey stags.

. . . . . .

The blackbird sings a loud strain,
To him the live wood is a heritage,
The sad angry sea is fallen asleep,
The speckled salmon leaps.

The sun smiles over every land,—
A parting from me from the brood of cares :
Hounds bark, stags tryst,
Ravens flourish, summer has come ! [1]

Meyer dates this poem in the tenth century. A few stanzas of a poem of the same period may be given. The hermit, Marban, sings to the King the praises of life in the forest. Meyer's translation is as literal as possible.

Swarms of bees and chafers, the little musicians of the world,
A gentle chorus :
Wild geese and ducks, shortly before summer's end,
The music of the dark torrent.

An active songster, a lively wren
From the hazel-bough,
Beautiful hooded-birds, woodpeckers,
A vast multitude !

[1] Meyer *loc. cit.* p. 53. The Irish text will be found in Meyer : *Four Songs of Summer and Winter.* London 1903.

Fair white birds come, herons, seagulls,
The cuckoo sings between—
No mournful music! dun heathpoults
Out of the russet heather.

The lowing of heifers in summer,
Brightest of seasons!
Not bitter, toilsome over the fertile plain,
Delightful, smooth!

The voice of the wind against the branchy wood
Upon the deep-blue sky:
Falls of the river, the note of the swan,
Delicious music![1]

In such raptured tones then does the old Irish poet describe the fulness and variety of life in the forest, and we feel that the beautiful trees and streams, the birds and beasts, and even the joyful melodious sounds are as it were friends and companions of the poet, who are all acclaimed in one long litany of joy. We turn now to Mr. Yeats, the father and inspirer of the "Celtic Twilight." In the Essay on the Celtic Element in Literature,[2] speaking of the ancient Irish and seeking to explain their preponderating wild melancholy (which he learned from Arnold and Renan, whose views in substance at least he accepts in this very essay), Mr. Yeats gives as a reason that, for these ancients, "life was so weighted down by the emptiness of the great forests . . . ." How are we to explain this amazing contrast, and especially Mr. Yeats's evident uneasiness at the thought of the great forests? Perhaps the reader will find an explanation in Mr. Yeats's *Autobiographies* (p. 456), where we read: "When I had finished *Rosa Alchemica* for the *Savoy*, I had a return of the old trouble and went to consult a friend who, under the influence of my cabbalistic symbols, could pass into a condition between meditation and trance. A certain

[1] Meyer. *loc. cit.* p. 49. The Irish text will be found in Meyer: *King and Hermit.* London 1901.
[2] W. B. Yeats: *Ideas of Good and Evil.* London 1914. p. 198.

symbolic personality who called herself, if I remember rightly, Megarithma, said that I must live near water and avoid woods 'because they concentrate the solar ray'." Does this explain the strange divergence of opinion, for the ancient Irish poet was no student of theosophy and Eastern occultism, and we may presume that he possessed no cabbalistic symbols ?

Meyer's own description of this Nature poetry is classic. He speaks of "a succession of pictures and images which the poet, like an impressionist, calls up before us by light and skilful touches"; but Meyer's words are too well-known to require quotation in full. In a novel of Maurice Baring one of the characters, speaking of Chinese poetry, uses words which, I think, might well be applied to this early Irish poetry. "Their theory of poetry seems to me the best. It is to record the impression of one thing—a sound, an effect of light, an incident, a ray of sunlight on some straw in the street, the petal of a flower floating down to the stream—just a note in the *chanson universelle*. To seize it on the wing and record it. And they write such things as briefly as possible. That seems to me the ideal of all poetry." So does an Irish poet of the ninth century give us a glimpse of the passing of summer :

Take my tidings !
Stags contend,
Snows descend—
Summer's end ! [1]

Before leaving the subject of Irish literature, a few points must receive brief consideration. First there is the question of the preponderating melancholy of Irish literature. While no one asserts that in the Celtic spectrum

[1] *The Book of Irish Poetry.* Alfred P. Graves. p. 4. For a more literal rendering *cf.* Meyer : *loc. cit.* p. 56. The Irish text is in *Four Songs of Summer and Winter.* p. 14. It may be remarked that, if the word Celtic has any true meaning, assuredly may it be predicated in its strictest sense of this ancient literature. It should be noted too that precisely those qualities of simplicity, terseness and clarity are found in the oldest poems and in the oldest versions of the sagas, i.e. in that period when Irish literature was least affected by extrinsic influences.

the darker colours find no place, it can be most confidently stated that early Irish literature is not predominantly melancholy. The direct contrary is unquestionably the case. But while that is true, it is none the less true to say that expressions of profound sorrow and deep sadness will be found in all periods of the literature. If one calls this sorrow melancholy, then let it be clear that it is always melancholy which has a definite, immediate object. It is always concerned with some real tragedy, some substantial sorrow. It has nothing in common with that vague unhealthy pessimism and fundamental dissatisfaction with life which is the monopoly of the 'neo-Celtic' literature. That in the later period the Irish Muse is more often grave than gay is sufficiently explained by the history of the people and the circumstances in which this later literature was written. With regard to the Celt's 'infinite sentiment,' the same may be said. Passionate expression of feeling there certainly is, but it is real, it is objective; it is not mere sentiment, emotion for emotion's sake—which is foreign to the Irish spirit. Even in the love-poetry Mr. Flower numbers 'a touch of light irony' amongst the chief characteristics. "There has always been in the Irish nature a sharp and astringent irony, a tendency to react against sentiment and mysticism." Finally, while stressing the Celt's hardness and grasp of reality, I do not suggest that the Celt is either unromantic or unimaginative. There are hundreds of Irish romantic tales, but that is a very different thing from the suggestion or inference that exaggerated moon-struck romanticism of the Macpherson type pervades every department of Irish literature. There are, too, bold and unrestrained excursions into the world of imagination; but may one generalise about the weird and mysterious character of American literature because one happens to have read Poe's "Tales of Mystery and Imagination?" Similarly there is nothing peculiarly Celtic about the fact that the ancient Irish mythological

tales carry us back into the dim mists of antiquity. Every ancient literature has its collection of primitive myths and age-old traditions which lead back into the vague regions of the long-forgotten past.[1]

Such then is the nature of our objection to this neo-Celtic literature. While it is justly and correctly described by the epithet "twilight," it has no claim whatever to the qualifying adjective "Celtic." The objection is raised not against this literature itself (for a man may choose his own subject and his own manner of treating it) but against its denomination and against its implications. Literary critics, ignorant of Celtic languages and unacquainted with Celtic literature, speak glibly of the Celtic spirit and the Celtic 'note' in this Anglo-Irish poetry. The strength of the objection becomes evident when we find that the criterion by which the 'Celticity' of this modern poetry is judged is in fact a norm abstracted from the writings of these poets themselves or at best from a synthesis of Arnold, Renan and Macpherson! The process is manifestly absurd; but would that it were as rare as it is ridiculous! The matter ceases to be innocuous when the 'Celticity' of old Irish literature is measured by the greater or less conformity between it and the 'true' Celtic spirit of the Anglo-Irish school.

Lack of space has prevented me from illustrating what has been said concerning the "Celtic Twilight" with quotations from that literature. I hope soon to supply that deficiency by an analysis in these pages of the 'Celtic' element in the poetry of Mr. Yeats.

FRANCIS SHAW

[1] With regard to the excessive verbiage of many of the later Irish stories (*cf.* note 1, p. 36), it should be noted that, in spite of the fact that in these tales a noun may be qualified by more than a dozen redundant adjectives, the essential concepts always remain concrete and defined. This verbiage is essentially different in character from the studied vagueness and deliberate indefiniteness of the literature of the Celtic Twilight.

GENERAL O'MORAN AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

BY DR. RICHARD HAYES

Part II

French Invasion of Belgium

IT has been seen in a previous article[1] how Dumouriez, the French Commander-in-Chief, obtained official sanction for his cherished plan of striking at Austrian domination through an invasion of Belgium. With several armies under his command, he at once proceeded to encompass that country at different points. The mass of the Austrian forces lay round Mons, and the immediate object of the French commander was to drive them before him and march straight to Brussels. The first manoeuvre of the campaign was entrusted to General O'Moran, who, with 8,000 men under his orders, was directed by Dumouriez to cross the frontier on 24 October 1792 and clear away the enemy forces that occupied the Belgian towns of Bon Secours and Peruwé. This was successfully accomplished by the Irish officer,[2] and the main French army then moved forward into Belgium. On the 8 November it confronted the Austrians at Jemappes, where the troops of the Republic won an overwhelming victory. Dumouriez in his account of the battle states that O'Moran was unfortunately not in a state of health to permit him to go through the Jemappes campaign. The Irish officer, he adds, was just then suffering from the complications of the serious wound

[1] *See* Studies, December 1933.

[2] A year later, while awaiting trial before the Revolutionary Tribunal, O'Moran declared that this preliminary action was a considerable factor in bringing about the victory at Jemappes which followed.

which he had received at the siege of Savannah; but, despite his infirmity, he was able to superintend the preliminary arrangements and, even though at a distance, he did co-operate in the brilliant achievement. Captain Thiebault, who commanded a battalion under him and who later became one of Napoleon's trusted Generals, describes in his *Memoires* how on the day of the battle O'Moran succeeded at Blaton, some miles from Jemappes, in preventing several enemy columns from joining the main Austrian forces.

The results that followed the great battle at Jemappes were far-reaching. The Austrians hastily abandoned Belgium, and within a month the French Republican troops were in entire possession of that country. Everywhere they were received with acclamation. Since the outbreak of the Revolution, there was much sympathy shown towards it by the majority of the Belgian people. They hated the Austrian domination that crushed them, and accordingly, when the French army began to sweep through the country, Belgian patriots hoped with its help to establish their independence. Dumouriez, as Commander-in-Chief, was sincerely anxious to co-operate for that end—"My soldiers and I are coming as allies and brothers," he said on entering the country, "we bring you the liberty of which Austrian tyrants have deprived you." Two days after the victory at Jemappes, General O'Moran, inspired with the same sentiments, issued the following proclamation to the inhabitants of Bon Secours, Blaton, Peruwé and other towns hitherto under Austrian rule :—

8 November 1792

Citizens

The French bring you liberty, equality and happiness. If they come into your territory with arms in their hands, it is with the object of driving from it the satellites of tyranny and of bestowing on you the full rights of which you have been unjustly deprived. The Belgians and the French will be, from this day forward, a nation of brothers. . . .

Through what unfounded prejudice, then, have some of you left your homes at the approach of our troops ? Return to your hearths, peaceful citizens ; see in the French only liberators and friends, who will not lay down their arms till they have consolidated your liberty and their own.

On this day the French people recognise the Belgium nation as sovereign. . . .

Signed

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL O'MORAN

Notwithstanding the good intentions and admirable sentiments of Dumouriez, O'Moran and a certain number of officers of the Revolutionary army, who wished merely for a Belgian Republic in alliance with France, serious troubles arose soon after the French occupation. The Belgians were, as has been said, delighted to be rid of Austrian rule. Warmly attached to their national institutions, to ancient privileges and to the Catholic religion, they soon began to realise that France intended to impose on them the new republican reforms and was little inclined to respect the old traditions they cherished. The Revolutionary soldiers—ragged, half starved, and without pay—began, too, to plunder in many places and were losing all discipline. The result was that, within a month of the French occupation, the relations between the two countries became much strained, and there were already omens of coming trouble.

Tournai had been one of the first Belgian towns occupied by the Revolutionary troops on entering the country. Its gates were flung open to welcome them on the 8 November—two days after the battle of Jemappes. But almost immediately after its occupation by the troops hostile feelings began to develop. The commanding officer issued an aggressive proclamation to the citizens, took possession of the public moneys, and with threats requisitioned 200,000 livres from the religious communities of the town and 750,000 livres from its inhabitants. A few days afterwards O'Moran, who had just been pro-

moted to be Lieutenant-General of the Army of the North, was appointed to the post of Commander-in-Chief of the two Belgian provinces of East and West Flanders, with his headquarters at Tournai, where he was to act as military governor. His appointment was probably in some ways a diplomatic one; for the indiscretions of his predecessor had greatly exasperated the inhabitants and had also annoyed Dumouriez. O'Moran, who had earned the reputation of being a gentle but firm and wide-visioned officer, was already known in Tournai. Before he entered the French army, he had come straight to it from Ireland as a boy and spent several years there at school. Soon after his arrival as military governor, he appeared before the local Society of the Friends of Liberty and Equality and addressed the members :—

Citizens, Brothers and Friends

Appointed to the command of the French troops who are to occupy this town and neighbourhood, I esteem it my duty, in the name of my brothers-in-arms and in my own name, to make an authentic declaration of my sentiments.

The French have taken up arms to defend their liberty, against which the tyranny of Europe has leagued itself. Strong in the justice of their cause, they have triumphed over a most formidable coalition—the soil of the Republic is still strewn with the many corpses of the poor slaves who were rash enough to pollute its purity. To have driven her enemies from her soil —that alone was sufficient for the peace of the Republic. But it was not enough for her glory; it was not enough for the happiness of those nations groaning under a shameful yoke of which they desired to rid themselves. The yearnings of the oppressed Belgians reached us, an opportunity to break their fetters came, and our victorious troops have entered your country. And permit me, citizens, to say here how fortunate I was in being the one who struck the first blow against your oppressors.

Citizens, it is for you and you alone that we have battled, and your freedom is the only reward that we expect in return for the French blood spilt in Belgium. . . . .

As for myself, citizens, it is by actions and not by words that I desire to gain your esteem and win your approbation. Educated among the citizens of Tournai, I have preserved for them that

sentiment of friendship and fraternity which the sweet affections of youth enshrine in the heart of sensitive man and which transforms into joy the obligation placed on me to help by every means in my power to make unity, peace and happiness reign within its gates. . . . . .

Brothers and Friends, I shall add only one word more. I have sealed American liberty with my blood. What remains to me I would deem too little to pay for the triumph of French liberty—and I am ready to pour it for the maintenance of the liberty of Belgium.

General O'Moran's eloquent address aroused much enthusiasm at the gathering. The sentiments he expressed showed that he at least did not believe in making Belgium a subject province of France. But he was compelled to submit to the tyrannical and short-sighted policy of the extreme Jacobins in Paris, and the duties of his high military office forced him later to execute that policy in all its harshness. For several weeks after he took up his military duties at Tournai comparative harmony reigned there. Thus, on the 12 November the citizens met in the cathedral and elected twenty administrators for the town, and at night there was much enthusiasm when the Belgian Republic was declared. General O'Moran came officially to the first meeting of the administrators next day and offered them his congratulations in the name of the Republic of France. And on the 21st of the same month he sent to the National Assembly at Paris a trophy of the victorious occupation of the town. It was an immense eagle worked in bronze which, during the regime of Austria, had been placed on the belfry of the town hall and symbolised the proud dominance of that country. On the 1 December the following letter, which accompanied the trophy, was read at the Assembly :—

Tournai

21 November 1792

Representatives of the French Nation

When our forces arrived in this town, they found the insolent emblem of Austrian rule—an eagle with outspread wings—placed

high on the belfry. The eyes of a people, restored to freedom, to their dignity and rights, were compelled to bear a spectacle that recalled to them the memory of their defeated tyrants. Accordingly the first decree of the new magistracy, elected by the free city, ordered the dethronement of his majesty the imperial eagle and the substitution in his place of the cap of liberty.

The representatives of the people of Tournai, having done homage, through this trophy, to the general officer of the Republic, have signified their wish that it should be sent to the National Assembly as an authentic sign of their renunciation for ever of the House of Austria. We accordingly deem it right that we should defer to their wishes, and we have sent the emblem to you under the escort of a detachment of Republican hussars.

Signed
O'Moran

By the middle of December a crisis was reached in the relations between France and the Belgian people. On the 15th of that month the National Assembly formally voted, among other things, that French Republican institutions should be established in Belgium and that all property belonging to the Treasury, to public bodies and committees should be placed under the safeguard of the French Republic. Disillusioned and exasperated by this drastic decree, the people soon saw the beginning of the evil fruitage from the French invasion of their country —levies of enormous sums of money, forced requisition of men and provisions, and the spoliation of churches. All their deepest patriotic instincts were aroused against the invaders, as they had been against the Austrians shortly before, and the close of the year 1792 saw passions flaming everywhere throughout the country.[1]

[1] It should, perhaps, be mentioned here as a matter of historic interest that, while General O'Moran acted as Governor of Tournai, Madame de Genlis arrived there with her daughter Pamela. The latter had shortly before become engaged to Lord Edward FitzGerald. O'Moran gave them apartments at the Abbey of Saint Martin, where he resided and where his headquarters were housed. On the 27 December 1792 Lord Edward arrived for his marriage and was warmly welcomed by his compatriot. Next day O'Moran was present at the civil marriage —his name is the first among the signatories at the ceremony. The religious ceremony took place in the Church of St. Quentin, the Curé M. A. Tuffin officiating.

Early in 1793 Commissioners and fanatical Jacobin agents, sent from Paris with plenary powers, flooded the country. Money was urgently needed to pay for the war, and, accordingly, these offiicals levied enormous contributions off the people, appropriated the contents of the public coffers and confiscated the lands of the nobles. Complaining of their rapacity, a citizen of Brussels cried out: "They have left us nothing but our eyes to weep with." A considerable number of Belgian nobles and officials left the country in dread, while many of those who remained were imprisoned as hostages.[1] In addition the French soldiers pillaged throughout the country and spread terror far and wide.

The wealth and treasures of the monasteries and religious houses were regarded with particular envy by the agents of the French government, and orders were issued for the seizure of the plate of such communities. The carrying out of these orders was frequently accompanied by scenes of tumult, and so great was the popular indignation that French troops were often requisitioned for their enforcement. In this connection an incident took place in Western Flanders at the time, which was one of the provinces under General O'Moran's command—an incident which shows him as a practical friend to a religious community of his compatriots. At Ypres in that province a convent of Irish Benedictine nuns had been established for more than a hundred years. On the 13 January 1793 a company of French soldiers appeared at the gate of the building and demanded admission in the name of the Republic. The abbess, Lady Lynch, refused them entry till she was satisfied that they had

[1] A certain number of Irishmen settled in Belgium were imprisoned. Among others was Jean O'Donoghue, a distinguished lawyer of Bruges, who was the son of John O'Donoghue, of Glenfesk, Co. Cork. At the same time Baron Joseph Kirwan, O'Donoghue's son-in-law, who came of a Kerry family, was imprisoned. On the other hand, when the French entered Louvain, in November 1792, they appointed the notable Irish priest and savant, Father Francis O'Hearne, a member of the municipal body they set up for administering the affairs of that town.

official authority for their demand. Exasperated at her refusal, they burst open the gates and, marching in, placed seals on the sacristy and the apartments where the plate and valuables were kept. The members of the community were much distressed by this action, and still more so when the soldiers insisted on remaining in the convent grounds during the night. Next morning one of the officers casually mentioned to the abbess that the Commander-in-Chief of the province was an Irishman, General O'Moran, and that he resided at Tournai. She accordingly got into communication with her fellow-countryman, informing him of the plight of the community. He immediately exercised his authority, and during the day the local military commander appeared at the convent, offered his apologies, withdrew the soldiers, and paid for the damage done by them to the building.

Religious establishments elsewhere throughout Belgium were not, however, as fortunate as the Irish convent at Ypres. Thus, some time later, the cathedral of St. Gudule at Brussels was invaded by a band of soldiers and sans-culottes. Bursting open the doors, they smashed the shrines, while the relics of the saints were scattered and the baptismal registers destroyed. They then dressed in vestments and went in mock procession round the aisles, singing irreverent songs, the orgy finishing with the robbery of the collection boxes.

Tournai, the headquarters of General O'Moran, was one of the towns whose citizens were fervently attached to the ideal of Belgian independence. The efforts to annex their country to France and impose French systems of government were accordingly much resented there. Notwithstanding this, comparative peace reigned for a long period within its gates and at a time, too, when in other places riotous scenes, often accompanied by bloodshed, frequently occurred. This immunity was largely due to the wise administration of General O'Moran, who respected the sentiments of the citizens and whose attitude con-

trasted strongly with that of many other Revolutionary officers. An official order had, as we have just seen, been issued for the seizure of the plate of the churches and monasteries of the country. When two of the Commissioners from Paris—Merlin of Douai and Treilhard—arrived at Tournai in January 1793, they were extremely annoyed on finding that this order had not been executed in the town. They threatened that if the seizure was not carried out within twenty-four hours, they would have all the military officers arrested and sent to Paris. At the same time, too, the local assembly in the town, elected by the citizens to administer its affairs, refused to give any help to the Commissioners in their work of sequestration and opposed them with a policy of passive resistance. A French decree had just abolished all existing taxes and imposts in Belgium, but the local assembly at Tournai ignored it and tried to maintain the tolls at the town barriers. General O'Moran, however, issued a proclamation which stated that, if the decree were not observed, he would destroy the town barriers with a squadron of cavalry. The Commissioners forwarded, soon after this, an account of the progress of events in Belgium to the Committee of Public Safety and described him as "a splendid patriot who neglected nothing in carrying out his duties." As the French policy of annexation extended, further clashes occurred between him and the citizens. Belgian patriots had adopted a scheme for summoning a national convention in order to counter the French policy of subjugation. The French authorities, seeing in the project a serious menace to their power, took steps to prevent a free vote of the people to elect deputies for the proposed convention. At Tournai an order of O'Moran forbade the primary assemblies of electors to meet—an action which still further embittered popular feeling. As a result a fierce riot, planned (the Commissioners declared) by the priests and monks, broke out in the town on the 8 March 1793. The tocsin was rung in the churches, the

streets were unpaved, shots were fired at the French soldiers from the windows of the houses, and stones were hurled at them from the roof-tops. Mobs paraded publicly with cries of " Death to the French," and several soldiers were killed. A high-placed Paris official was beaten in the street, his cockade torn from him and trampled under foot. Adopting " wise and firm methods," General O'Moran met the situation calmly. Accompanied by his two aides-de-camp and some of his staff officers, he walked through the chief thoroughfares, and his appearance there scattered the rioters in all directions. Immediate peace resulted when he issued a proclamation in which he forbade under penalties more than two persons meeting in the streets or squares, threatened to bring before a military tribunal anyone caught firing on the soldiers, and declared that any house from which shots were fired would be razed to the ground.

O'Moran received high praise for the manner in which he dealt with what threatened to be a much more serious outbreak. Two days after the occurrence the Commissioners, in a letter to the Committee of Public Safety, recommended his " wise and firm actions," and added that it was " to his strong character that the patriots of Tournai are indebted for the peace and safety which they they now enjoy."[1]

While scenes such as those at Tournai, and many of a more serious kind, were taking place in other Belgian towns, the main body of the French forces, pursuing the policy of aggrandisement, had invaded Holland. There they met almost immediately with serious reverses. Scarcely had their general advance well begun, indeed, than on hearing of the invasion of Belgium by the Austrians during their absence, they retreated rapidly and returned to that country. On the 18 March the two hostile armies faced each other on the heights of Neerwinden. There the French met with a defeat the consequences of which were

[1] *Recueil des Actes de Salut Public*, Tome 2.

in many ways calamitous for their country. Belgium was hastily evacuated—within ten days there were no longer any soldiers of France in its territory and the expedition, on which such high hopes were placed a few months before, ended in disillusionment and disaster. Dumouriez, the greatest soldier of the Republic at the time, treacherously abandoned the army and fled across the frontier to join the Austrian enemy. Never, indeed, since the beginning of the Revolution was that country faced with such a crisis as in the spring months of 1793—perils from within and without menaced her very existence as a nation.

RETURN TO FRANCE

On the retirement of the French forces from Belgium after the defeat at Neerwinden, General O'Moran received instructions to leave Tournai and take command of French Flanders. In that province he established at Cassel, some distance from Dunkirk, a camp of 16,000 men. It formed the left wing of the Army of the North, which, after its return to France, had proceeded to occupy in separate detachments the numerous camps and fortresses guarding the long frontier of one hundred miles from Dunkirk to Valenciennes. Threatening that line were immense forces of the Allies—Austrians, English, Dutch and Hanoverians —who hoped to break through and march to Paris. They were, indeed, greatly superior in most respects to their dispirited French adversaries, while, in addition, France itself was then in a state approaching anarchy. The Revolutionary government at Paris resolved, as a consequence, that to save the nation extreme and terrible measures should be adopted. In April 1793 the Reign of Terror was inaugurated with the establishment of the Revolutionary Tribunal—the other great engine of the Terror, the Committee of Public Safety, was already functioning since March. In order to improve the lamentable condition of the military forces of the nation, Representatives armed with practically unlimited authority

(*Représentants en mission*) were appointed to the various frontiers, where they were to superintend arrangements in the armies and supervise the actions of the officers. In April the great soldier Carnot was sent in that capacity to the Army of the North, and with him as colleague was Duquesnoy, an extreme Jacobin. For several months both of them went from camp to camp along the Belgian frontier, their activities being particularly centred round Dunkirk, where General O'Moran had his headquarters.

During this time the attitude of the Irish officer, like that of the other Generals along the frontier, was one of watchfulness and defence. A communication from Bouchotte, the Minister of War, on the 17 April requested him to take all the necessary measures against a possible attack on Dunkirk, the Minister adding that O'Moran's well-known patriotism and attachment to the interests of the Republic would ensure the success of its arms. Just then the main body of the Army of the North which was guarding the great French strongholds of Condé and Valenciennes retreated before superior forces, leaving these fortresses to their fate. Carnot was long advocating a a diversion on a large scale with O'Moran's troops in order to relieve the increasing pressure on the French troops in the chief theatre of hostilities. The proposal was an attack on Furnes and Ostend; it was opposed by O'Moran as being full of risk on account of the number of enemy troops in these towns. In a letter to the Committee of Public Safety Carnot declared that "General O'Moran is extremely careful and has for a long time been objecting to this expedition through fear of compromising the honour of the French forces." At a council of war which was summoned to discuss the project O'Moran said that cannon and horses were lacking, that his soldiers were not accustomed to the firing line and were inclined to pillage. He was overruled, however, and was ordered to make preparations for marching 7,000 men against Furnes and Ostend. But Carnot after a little while seems to have

adopted O'Moran's view—on the 22 May he wrote to the great Committee : " For three weeks I have been advocating this expedition. But General O'Moran, who is very circumspect, is in constant fear of compromising himself, and it must be admitted that we lack many essential things. And again, the enemy (I don't know how) get knowledge of all our plans. . . . I believe it would be very imprudent to attempt the capture of Ostend."

The attack, nevertheless, was eventually undertaken, but, as O'Moran predicted, ended in failure and was marked by scenes of wholesale pillage and debauchery. And the responsibility for it was most unfairly placed on him by his enemies—it was, twelve months later, to be one of the main charges against him when he was arraigned before the Revolutionary Tribunal. The Representative Duquesnoy, a truculent Jacobin, was the most bitter of these, and pursued him with much vindictiveness. Carnot, on the other hand, repeatedly defended him. " General O'Moran's prudence," wrote the great soldier to the Committee of Public Safety, " drives me to despair, and I would call it pusillanimity if I had not such a respect for his military qualities." Unfortunately for O'Moran, just at the time that suspicions of his loyalty to the Republic began to increase, his defender was recalled to Paris for important work. On the very day the latter left for the capital Duquesnoy and the new Representative, Le Bas, an intimate friend of Robespierre, issued an order for the arrest of the Irish officer. He was charged by them (1) with persistently refusing to carry out the expedition against Ostend and Furnes under the plea that strong forces of the enemy were there ; (2) with rendering it fruitless when he was compelled to undertake it ; and (3) with blaming the Representatives for the failure which followed it. From other quarters, too, accusations had been for some time directed against him. A local Jacobin newspaper declared that he was in communication with the traitor Dumouriez. It was rumoured that he refused

to drink the toast of Marat's health at a banquet. And the municipality of a town in his command area found fault with his military arrangements and said that he was unworthy of public confidence.

In due time these charges reached the Committee of Public Safety, filling that body with prejudice against him. Nor was that prejudice allayed by occasional reports in his favour from other sources. For example, one of the Committee's secret agents informed it that " O'Moran was a brave man too easily intimidated by cheap denunciations," while another described him as " excellent for councils but, being worn out with illness, useless for serious undertakings on account of the acute pain he suffers."

A few days after his arrest he was conveyed to the prison at Amiens. On the 13 August he sent from his confinement a long letter to the Committee of Public Safety protesting against his unjust treatment. In it he gave a lengthened account of his life—his birth in Ireland, his campaigns under the Monarchy and the Republic, his wounds and hardships and the many injustices he bore patiently during forty-one years of military service. No response came to his letter, nor to several others which he sent from time to time. But three members of the great Committee did a thing of sinister significance when each of them wrote on the margin of one of the letters :—*Send him to the Abbaye prison and the guillotine.*

Trial and Execution

In January 1794 he was conducted from Amiens to the prison of Saint Lazare in Paris. At the time there was a considerable number of suspended army officers imprisoned in various jails throughout the capital, more than twenty of whom held the rank of General.[1] The Revolution was just then entering on its last stage of

[1] Besides O'Moran, there were six other Irish Generals imprisoned just then in Paris—Kilmaine, Thomas O'Meara, Thomas Ward, Arthur Dillon, Isidore Lynch, and Thomas Keating. Of these, O'Moran, Ward and Dillon were guillotined. For the trial and execution of Dillon, see the writer's article in Studies, March 1932. The story of Kilmaine will be told in a future issue.

frightfulness, and heads began to fall in ever-increasing numbers under the knife of the guillotine. It was in the middle of this feverish period that O'Moran was arraigned before the Tribunal of the Terror. His trial was fixed for the 6 March, and on the previous day he was conveyed to the Conciergerie, the sombre prison that had become the almost certain antechamber of the guillotine. From there he wrote on the eve of the dreaded ordeal to Fouquier Tinville, the Public Prosecutor :—

Citizen Prosecutor

When I was arrested at Cassel on the 6 August seals were placed on my official papers and books of correspondence. I wish to inform you that these contain a portion of my defence. In the name of the law, of which you are the instrument, I request that the date of my trial be not definitely fixed until these papers come into my possession.

I have also asked the Minister for War to send for particular documents, whose contents will also help in disposing of the charges brought against me.

Salut et fraternité

O'Moran

The letter was ignored, as was another which he wrote at the same time to Bouchotte, the Minister of War :—

Citizen Minister

Without wealth or relatives or friends, the only consolation now remaining to me lies in a serene conscience and in that justice which I request that you will claim for my cause to enable me to refute the charges brought against me. I wish to outline and verify those facts which alone should determine the opinion and verdict of all true Republicans on my civil and military conduct. I am not an intriguer nor adventurer nor a plotter. I swear that my heart is entirely devoted to the sacred observances of the laws and decrees of the National Convention. I make bold to assert, too, that the Republic does not possess within its gates a more zealous defender.

I owe my promotion to the rank of General of Division to the beneficence of the Revolution, and I particularly request that my worldly assets be carefully examined at this period. It will then be found that, on the day on which I got my provisional

dismissal, my hands were as pure as my heart. . . . Between my wife and myself I do not possess 14,000 francs in the world. Greed and love of glory do not go together.

To establish the character of such as I am, scarred with may wounds, forty-one years of unbroken and stainless service ought to suffice. . . . There still remains with me the long-cherished dream that I shall some day be able to give my life to free my own native land from the tyrannical oppression of the savage English government, under which a poverty-stricken number of my class have grievously suffered for centuries.

I have been just informed, Citizen Minister, that I shall be brought to-morrow before the Tribunal. My defence is almost entirely contained in my correspondence and papers. I require witnesses, too, for that defence. I beg of you, therefore, to help me to procure those essentials. Surely, after forty years of service, I have some right to demand such an act of justice.

O'MORAN

All his appeals fell on deaf ears, and on the following day he was arraigned on the charge of plotting against the unity and indivisibility of the Republic by carrying out manoeuvres tending to favour the enemy. The proceedings were hurried through, for the jails were filled to overflowing and space was needed for the increasing number of prisoners. In answer to the usual questions, the prisoner replied that his name was James O'Moran, age fifty-nine years, a native of Elphin, in Ireland, and that he was a General of Division in the Army of the North. The interrogation by the Public Prosecutor then proceeded, and at its conclusion the Representative Duquesnoy, his unrelenting enemy, came forward with his old charges regarding the expedition to Furnes and Ostend. The remorseless Fouquier Tinville then pressed home the accusation that O'Moran was guilty of treason in helping the enemy by thwarting the manoeuvres of his own troops. The President of the Tribunal put the usual questions to the jury; the latter responded to the sentiments and designs of those in power; and, on the verdict of guilty being announced, the Public Prosecutor demanded and received an order for the penalty of death.

O'Moran was conveyed back to the Conciergerie, and the toilet preparations of the victims doomed to the guillotine were hastily completed. Bound by cords to three other condemned Generals, he was placed with them on the fatal tumbril, which at once set out on its now accustomed journey. Leaving the courtyard, it moved across the bridge of the great river, along the quayside, into the Rue Saint Honoré, where, standing disguised in the waiting crowd of spectators, O'Moran's aide-de-camp, Jouy, watched his old chief carried past. Then it wheeled into the great open space of the Place de la Revolution, and there the guillotine stood out ominously against the darkening sky of the March evening. The death-cart halted beside it. Unshaken and unafraid, the Irish officer faced the end, while the executioner Sanson carried out his work swiftly and without pity.

O'Moran's fate was no worse than that of a large number of others who had given their swords to France, served her faithfully and honourably, and like him perished on the scaffold at a time of terror and suspicion. A man of great talent and high courage, his qualities were particularly appreciated by Carnot, the greatest soldier of the Revolution. Thiebault, too, who served as a young officer under O'Moran during the Revolutionary war and who later became one of Napoleon's trusted Generals, paints him as " a worthy and venerable man, distinguished for his fine manners and his *bonhomie*." And still another contemporary calls him " the model of all military virtues and one of the honourable victims of a great and unhappy time." It was, however—and rightly so—the country in whose service he spent himself for more than forty years, that paid the finest tribute to his memory and wiped out the stigma on his name. Beside the spot where stood the guillotine on which he died the Arc de Triomphe now rises in beauty. On its side France has blazoned in gold the names of her greatest soldiers. That of General Jacques O'Moran is among them. RICHARD HAYES

CONSTANTINE THE GREAT AND HIS CITY

BY MICHAEL TIERNEY

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ALTHOUGH one of them died in old age and the other before his youth was over, there is a striking similarity between the careers and achievements of the Emperor Constantine and Alexander the Great. Both were great conquerors, never once defeated, and in the speed and certainty of their movements both seemed able to defy the rules of war. Each claimed to have received a mysterious divine revelation when at the height of his career. Each was preceded by a man almost as remarkable as himself, who prepared the way for him, and whose work he continued in a new spirit. Both were men of overmastering passions, and under the stress of momentary anger both did terrible deeds, which they lived to repent. Each was the founder of a new type of State, the beginner of a new epoch in history. The age that passed between Alexander and Constantine may be fittingly designated by Alexander's name. Even the civilisation which the peace of Rome spread over Western Europe was stamped with the sign of his personality. The Romans, for all their military and administrative genius, were merely his followers ; they did not supersede his work nor greatly deflect its consequences. The religion, literature, art, learning and science, and to a large degree the political and social ideas of the period from 323 B.C. to 324 A.D.—from the death of Alexander to the foundation of Constantinople—form a unity of culture conditioned by Alexander's work, and that culture differs in spirit both from what preceded and from what followed it. Just as the last phase of the ancient world-order was given its character by Alexander,

so the first phase of the medieval world-order was initiated by Constantine. And the work of each was symbolised and concentrated in a City called after himself.

It is true that historians are in the habit of designating the period to which Constantine gave its essential character by the name Byzantine. That is merely the old name of his City, which has been found more euphonious or more convenient than his own. He claimed to have given Constantinople an immortal name; and present-day Turkish nationalism, in changing it to Istanbul, is not really belying his boast, for Istanbul is in all probability after all merely Constantinople provided with a crude etymology. Scholars have soberly conjectured that the name for which he presaged immortality was not Constantinople but some secret mystic title such as Flora or Anthusa. He was hardly humble enough or sufficient of a minor poet to have been guilty of either. The precedent of Alexander, not to speak of other great rulers, was clearly present to his mind. He was quite conscious, not only of his own greatness, but also of the fact that he was giving a fresh turn to history, when he claimed to be guided by a divine and private epiphany in tracing his foundations beside the Bosporus. He had given a new unity to the troubled Empire of which he had just become sole master. His great predecessor, Diocletian, had striven to revive the old Roman spirit, to restore the old Roman religion, to secure the military autocracy which was the Empire by an ingenious development of the old Roman collegiate system. Constantine turned his back on these efforts, which not only he but his colleagues and competitors soon came to see were futile and unsuited to the times. He determined to achieve the needed unity by two methods which were entirely new. For the shadowy paganism of Rome, which by his time had become little more than an outworn literary and antiquarian reminiscence, he substituted the religion which had long been that of the majority in the Eastern

part of his Empire—Christianity. For the over-elaborate and therefore unstable "tetrarchy" which had been Diocletian's method of giving continuity to the Imperial government, he substituted the dynastic principle, familiar also to the East but foreign to the Roman spirit. To mark the originality of his achievement, of which he was undoubtedly conscious, he called his City not only after himself, but after the old centre of the Empire. It was officially designated not only Constantinople but also New Rome.

While it is possible for us to estimate the consequences of his actions, it is extremely difficult to arrive at any final judgment of Constantine's motives. We have many documents bearing on the history of his time—laws, letters, speeches, and later chronicles, and even a highly eloquent and elaborate biography composed after his death in the form of a panegyric by his intimate friend Bishop Eusebius of Caesarea. But all these documents are partial, either in the sense of being fragmentary or in the more questionable meaning of the word. Many of them are suspected, from various critical points of view, of being deliberate forgeries; others are coloured, and their evidence distorted, by the bias of passionate controversy. As a consequence there rages to this very day a hot and apparently endless argument about almost everything he did. One critic regards him as a simple-minded fanatic, overwhelmed at a moment of extreme crisis by an extraordinary revelation; another as a frigid opportunist, unmoved by any religious motive as he was unmoved by any pity for those who crossed his path. Some accept all the accounts of his various visions, others only the first, which happens to be a vision of Apollo. To some he is a convinced Christian from the date of his victory at the Milvian Bridge; to others only from a date many years later; to others not even at his baptism on his death-bed. One school believes that his political actions were dictated by his eagerness for

Christian unity; another that his eagerness for Christian unity was merely a weapon against his rivals in the struggle for power. Some of those who disbelieve in the genuineness of his conversion will credit him with none but Machiavellian motives. Others declare that all his life he was a philosophic monotheist, an adherent of the more puritan among the Neoplatonists—whose Puritanism, incidentally, had gone out of fashion during his youth—and equally opposed to the excesses of pagan sacrifice and to the extravagances of the Christian sects. To one high authority, Eduard Schwartz, the Council of Nicaea was the greatest victory ever won by an Emperor over the Christian Church. To his most recent biographer, André Piganiol, he was " un pauvre homme qui tâtonnait," a timorous philosopher who finally was vanquished in his projects for a new syncretism by the tenacity of the Christians at his court.

This extreme difference of opinion is one of the causes which make the study of the vast literature about Constantine a fascinating as well as a laborious task. It is not confined to the problems which arise from his conversion and his relations with the newly-emancipated Church. Equally violent discrepancies make themselves apparent when we come to consider the foundation of Constantinople. Here our documentary authorities are meagre enough. A few sentences from some uncertain chronicles of a later date are almost all we have to go upon. We know that the foundation of the City was decided upon shortly after the defeat of Licinius in 324, which made Constantine sole master of the East as well as the West. One ancient authority tells us that it was built as a war-memorial—" ob insignis victoriae memoriam." We are told also that Constantine hesitated some time over the choice of a site; he is said to have even begun operations at Troy, another reminiscence of Alexander, who had built a city there before him. There are even fugitive traditions which suggest that he was

finally led to Byzantium by a miraculous sign. Such a multiplication of phenomena can hardly have been necessary. Byzantium had been in the very centre of the terrific campaign in which the rival Emperor Licinius had just been overwhelmed. Although Licinius had not himself defended it, it was renowned for its strength as a fortress, and had stood sieges from two great conquerors, Philip of Macedon and Septimius Severus. Constantine's own unrivalled military instinct was sufficient to dictate his choice. Our difficulty springs from more general considerations. The most able of modern historians have differed, and indeed still differ, as to whether in founding his City Constantine had actually any particular purpose at all, and whether its later greatness is to be attributed to his foresight or is merely the result of a remarkable accident.

Thus Otto Seeck, whose great *Untergang der Antiken Welt* has not unfittingly been compared with Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, maintains that Constantine's exclusive motive in his new foundation was personal vanity. The statesmanlike idea of an Eastern counterpart to Rome, which should be a modern Christian centre for the new Imperial despotism, was, he believes, an idea altogether foreign to the mind of Constantine. He is followed in this belief by a more recent German historian, Ernst Stein. This very able and learned scholar is prepared to admit that economic and military conceptions may have had more to do with the choice of the site than Seeck thought; but he adds that "Seeck was perfectly right in his opposition to the view that the foundation of Constantinople was an act of genius or had epoch-making importance in world-history." This view, Stein maintains, "can be supported neither by historical sources nor by history itself." For both of these scholars, then, the ancient explanation that the City was merely a grandiose war-memorial fits all the facts. On the other hand Ferdinand Lot, whose *End of the Ancient World* is

one of the most fascinating of recent historical works, holds that "Constantinople was born of the caprice of a despot in the grip of intense religious exaltation," but goes on to remark: "Few concerted political actions have had more considerable or more durable effects." It will be seen that our view of the motives and consequences of the foundation tends to vary according to our view of Constantine's character. To Seeck he is the most complete incarnation of the military spirit—brave, simple-minded, pious, and vain; whereas for Lot he is a much more formidable personality, a world-force whose paradoxical deeds could only be explained by the depth of the mystery behind them.

One of the weaknesses of Seeck's great history is his tendency to minimise the quality of the men with whom he has to deal. His summing-up, on his very first page, of Diocletian's character sets the note for his whole work. The restorer of Rome's fortunes is for Seeck "a remarkable idealogue, a fanciful half-genius, rich in notions but poor in knowledge of men, one of the class from which to-day emerge professional inventors." All the contemporaries of Diocletian fall under the same damnation by faint praise, and their actions are seen in the same dry cold light. Seeck thus fails to appreciate the significance of such a foundation as that of Constantinople in the circumstances of its time. Not only was it the last great ancient city, but it was founded on an unprecedented scale of grandeur at a time when all other ancient cities had begun to shrink in size and population and, especially in the West, to become mere fortresses. Lot gives actual measurements which show in the most striking fashion how more than fifty years of war and anarchy had blighted the splendour of the Roman cities. It is scarcely credible that a man of Constantine's capacity could have acted as he did in the case of his new foundation if he had been impelled by motives of mere personal vainglory. And not only was his New Rome to be a city planned on the

most magnificent lines at a time when all other cities, not excluding Old Rome itself, were beginning to lose their ancient spaciousness; not only was it to be peopled by the citizens and adorned with the art-treasures of other cities; it was to be a replica in every important respect of the old capital and centre of the Roman world. It was to have its Palace, its Senate-house and Senate, its special corn supply from Egypt, which formerly had fed the poor of Rome itself. It has frequently been the Nemesis of the great—and here again the parallel of Alexander arises—that the little have given their most resounding deeds a grotesque or puerile explanation appropriate to the narrow room of their own commonplace minds. Such was the case with Constantine's foundation as narrated by some of the ancient chroniclers and gossip-mongers. What is surprising is that scientific modern historians should, for all their learning, not rise above the flatness of the folk-tale in attributing motives to actions which have changed history.

It is at any rate satisfactory to find that the scholar who three years ago revived in an acute form the controversy about Constantine's conversion, and who is nowadays foremost in regarding him as statesman first and Christian a long way second, Henri Grégoire of Brussels, refuses to take so ironical a view of his act in founding his City. "Seeck and Stein," says Grégoire, "are wrong in denying the evidence. The site was admirably chosen; the foundation was the result of mature deliberation, and fully merits the epithet '*genial*.'" It is not yet possible to say whether Grégoire goes so far in his "laicisation" of Constantine, "the Bishop of those without," as to agree with Piganiol in supposing that the City was at first intended to be a refuge for philosophers. We are told in Porphyry's life of Plotinus that the first and greatest Neo-platonist had once hoped to induce the Emperor Gallienus to refound for his school some destroyed city of Campania, whose new citizens should live under the laws of Plato and

which should be called Platonopolis. Now we know that a follower of Porphyry himself, called Sopatros, afterwards executed by Constantine on suspicion of magic practices, performed certain mystic rites (*telesmata*) as part of the foundation-ceremony of Constantinople. At this period Sopatros, who appears to have been a pretentious charlatan of the same type as Iamblichus or later Maximus of Ephesus, was on very friendly terms with the Emperor. Such is the slender thread of evidence on which Piganiol hangs his alluring theory. It is hardly enough to justify us in believing that Constantine ever for a moment proposed to do for Plotinus' degenerate heirs what Gallienus had failed to do seventy years before for Plotinus himself. Those who wish to erect a Neoplatonist Constantine in place of the Christian Constantine of tradition are in fact forced to attribute to him a profundity of education and religious thought which could not be paralleled even among the professional philosophers of his time. So far are we from the vain and simple-minded soldier depicted for us by Seeck.

In any case we have serious support for the view that Constantine must have meant something when he did one of the most momentous acts of his career. History was soon to show the enormous importance of Constantinople. It became in fact the centre of a new Greek resurgence; its impregnability, its wealth, and its ever-growing prestige gave the Greek nation fresh pride and fresh vigour. Within a century it was more populous than Old Rome itself; and later still Justinian was able to direct from Constantinople the astounding effort of the Greek East to reconquer the now barbarian West. Bury goes so far as to say that the Eastern half of the Empire, although more united, richer, less easy to occupy and more thickly peopled than the West, "might not have escaped dismemberment if Constantine had not had the inspiration to plant a new capital of the Empire on the shores of the Bosporus." On the other hand, this

powerful resurgence of Greek nationality was destined ultimately to lead to losses in the East only less serious than the break-up of the Empire in the West. The rivalry between the older centres of Hellenism, Alexandria and Antioch, and the new centre of Roman power, was to eventuate in the breaking away of the Semitic countries and of Egypt from the ancient unity of the Greco-Roman world and in the rise of the Mohammedan culture; and this again contributed in no small degree, as has been recently made clear, to the isolation and relapse into semi-barbarism of the Roman West.

Whereas Rome itself continued, almost as long as the Roman system lasted in the West, to be the centre of devotion to pagan sentiments, Constantinople almost at once became the capital of the Christian East and soon outpassed both Antioch and Alexandria. It is characteristic of its whole later history that already by the middle of the fourth century its people were passionately interested in religious quarrels and that it was the cockpit of all the heresies of the time. Although we know little about the character of the ceremonies which took place at its foundation, it is unquestionable that Constantine gave it from the very beginning the appearance of a Christian city. Its most important religious buildings were the churches of the Twelve Apostles, of the Divine Wisdom and of the Divine Peace. It had of course pagan temples also, because the official policy of the Empire was now one of religious tolerance. Its two principal temples were however of quite minor importance, one of them being dedicated to a divinity so symbolical as to be scarcely pagan at all. This was the Tycheion, which enshrined the Luck of the city under the aspect of a goddess. The cult of Tyche was as old as the time of Alexander's immediate successors, when she began to take the place of the city-goddesses in new foundations like Antioch. It was a cult so denuded of all real religious feeling as to be religious only in form. Its substitution

in the third century B.C. for real cults like that of Athena is one of the best indications we have of the transformation that then took place in the religious ideas of Greece. In Constantinople the Emperor himself was represented holding the Luck of the city in his outstretched hand—a piece of symbolism which corresponded truly enough to the facts. The other temple, situated in the Hippodrome, was that of Castor and Pollux, the demigods to whom athletes prayed for success in the games.

"From its very inauguration," says Bury, "the New Rome was ostensibly and officially Christian." It is true that pagan statues and relics were brought to Constantinople from all over the Empire, including some from Rome itself. One of these relics still exists in part: it is the bronze pillar which once supported the gold tripod dedicated to Apollo after the defeat of Persia at Plataea. Many of the statues were altered to accommodate them to a Christian environment. Such was the case with that of Apollo which stood on what is still known as the Burnt Pillar in the Forum; it received Constantine's own head instead of Apollo's. It has been suggested, probably because they are not named after saints, that the churches of S. Sophia and S. Eirene were originally intended, in some equivocal monotheistic and philosophical sense, as temples; but it is not even certain that the former dates from the reign of Constantine at all, whereas the Church of the Holy Apostles was certainly begun by him. He gave a definitely Christian character to his new capital, not only because he had long before decided himself to embrace Christianity and to base upon it the unity of the Empire, but because, as Harnack has pointed out, the Greek East, of which his City was to be the capital, was the one part of the whole Empire which was already overwhelmingly Christian.

For many years before his time Rome had ceased to be the real centre of Imperial government. Diocletian had ruled from Nicomedia, quite close to Byzantium, and

Constantine himself had defended the Rhine from Trier. At a time when the principal military dangers to the Empire came from the Euphrates, beyond which lay the new and powerful Persian kingdom, and from the Danube, beyond which the Goths and Vandals were preparing to attack, the Bosporus, which could command both Euphrates and Danube, was far more important than Rome. Italy was easy enough to defend, but not easily to be used as a base. Even if Roman sea-power had been what it was in the days of Augustus, the city on the Bosporus had the advantage in time and convenience. The problem of the Rhine was still a minor one; its defence was not likely to call for the whole resources of the Empire. Thus on every ground, tradition from previous reigns, proximity to more important and wealthier centres of population, military advantages, natural situation, the choice of Constantinople as a permanent residence for the Emperor and headquarters for his mobile army suggested itself. To these motives was added as final and compelling the need to mark, in a decisive and striking manner, the fact that the Empire had a new bond of moral union and a new type of ruler at its head.

Next to the churches of Constantinople its most important feature was its centrally-placed palace. To some extent the building and its situation were copied from the palace at Rome. But the imperial residence at Constantinople was destined to acquire a kind of sanctity and prestige such as that of Rome had never known. This was due to the complete reorganisation of the government machine, begun by Diocletian and carried to its conclusion by Constantine. It is usual to describe this reorganised machine as oriental despotism, the word "oriental" apparently meaning that its principal features were borrowed from Persia. This is true only to a limited and relative degree. All earlier monarchy had been to a certain extent oriental since the time of Alexander the Great. The new monarchy was in essence no more

despotic than the old. There is nothing in the history of the later Empire to exceed the despotism of third-century emperors like Septimius Severus and Maximin. What distinguished the new from the old was neither despotism nor orientalism, but rather its more systematic and really more " constitutional " character. The principle of the separation of military and civilian authority and of the subordination of the military to the civil power was first introduced into European government by Diocletian and Constantine. It was they who first created a civil service in the modern sense of the word, and the strangeness of their achievement in so doing is most clearly shown by their use of military terms to designate it. They tried to convert a military autocracy into a complete administrative system, and their success should be judged, not by the prejudices of the " Decline and Fall," but by the long period for which their system in its essential features lasted in Constantinople. They were the founders of medieval monarchy, whose virtues we are perhaps now beginning to appreciate better than heretofore. Even the economic and social measures for which they were once condemned may well seem more pardonable in our days of experimentation with currencies, of price-fixing by law and of corporative states.

We are justified in attributing to Constantine something more than the vanity of a puerile giant, if perhaps something less than the arid vision of an eclectic philosopher. He cannot have failed, during the years from the autumn of 324 to the early summer of 330, while his City was taking shape, to have some intuition of what it was to become : not merely the bulwark of Empire and the impregnable centre for defence against an eternal circle of foes, but the seat of a consecrated Christian monarchy and of a civilised and enlightened system of government.

Michael Tierney

HENRI BREMOND
1865—1933

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CRITICS abound in every literature, but the great critic is more rare than the great creative artist. Such was Henri Bremond; an irreparable loss to the republic of letters, for he has passed from us to his reward, leaving his great work unfinished. How can we assess his value? We can estimate his erudition and readily recognise its vast and genial character; his ample doctrine we can anatomise with some reserve of judgment; we can admire his mastery of the writer's craft; but his exquisite taste, that supreme gift of the critic, we must leave to the verdict of his peers, the living masters of French prose and poetry. They alone are competent to judge in this very delicate matter, and they have spoken with no uncertain voice; his charismatic "gift of taste" has been fully recognised. "Sa critique avait ce caractère assez rare de prévenir le succès au lieu de le suivre. Il découvrait le talent nouveau et aussitôt célébrait, imposait le verdict au goût public, s'indignait de sa lenteur et de ces injustices." Could we find a surer touchstone of great criticism than in these two sentences, which I have taken from Père Bremond's delightful sketch of his great brother published in the *Etudes* (5 Oct. 1933)?

But Bremond was more than a mere critic of genius; he was an explorer, a conquistador in the world of letters, a Foch who won back for France a lost province. In 1906 M. Doumic had pointed out that a good history of spiritual literature was lacking, and ten years later Henri Bremond published the first volume of the wanted work, *L'Humanisme dévot*, and set out the main outlines of the series to

follow. What a piece of splendid audacity! To write a literary history of religious feeling and experience from the days of Henri IV to our own times, to rescue from the dustiest shelves of deserted libraries all that was best in the religious life of the "Grand Siècle," not to speak of later times and lesser men; to look at French history from a new angle and trace the most hidden forces which shaped the spiritual destiny of the Eldest Daughter of the Church; to survey the broad stream of French piety, map its tributaries, plumb the rapids of Port Royal and the whirlpools of Quietism; to register the ebb and flow of views, the storms of controversy and the clash of minds! Who does not regret that Bremond was taken from us, before he could give us his matured judgment on Bossuet and Fénelon? His earlier work *l'Apologie de Fénelon* called for some revision and development, and it is a matter of poignant regret, to the present writer for one, that we have not the final "mise au point."

Not the least difficult part of this colossal task was the due adjustment of style and expression, the due selection of illustrative quotations. Bremond had to steer his course between dull edification and the flavour of flippancy. He was writing a literary history: a book for all readers, not a set of volumes for convent libraries, there to join the dusty tomes from which he had culled such charming extracts. He had to interest the general public—without scandalizing the "unco guid."

If we do not take the purely materialist view of history and regard a nation's story as a mere series of brute happenings, we must collate events with the stream of national opinion and seek the key to political and cultural history in a people's literature. But we must not restrict our study to partial sources, if we would understand the minds of great men and the lesser folk they led and ruled. Bremond has opened a new window for the conscientious historian of France; he has shown the value of books of piety! Who would have dreamed that Père Joseph was

a spiritual writer and reformer, that Richelieu himself did not disdain to write a treatise " De la Perfection du Chrestien." And what a gallery of portraits Bremond has given us, from Père Coton to Nichole ! He has given us a picture of the France that prays and weeps, to correct our short views of the France " qui s'amuse."

In addition to the eleven solid volumes of his great *Histoire Littéraire du Sentiment Religieux en France*, Bremond has left us some thirty volumes of biography, literary criticism and controversy. His studies of More and Newman are very notable works, particularly the latter, where Bremond displays much virtuosity as a psychologist. The discourse on *La Poésie Pure* is a good example of Bremond as a pure literary critic. It was the occasion of a vigorous polemic with Paul Sonday as to the ultimate nature of poetry and develops an interesting parallel between poetry and mystical experience.

Bremond was a son of the South, a child of Provence. He was born at Aix ; sise 33, place des Prêcheurs, as Lucien Descaves tells us in his appreciation of Bremond in *Les Nouvelles Littéraires* (26 Aug. 1933). His father was a notary. His early education was at Aix, and he left his native town at the age of seventeen for the Jesuit novitiate at Sidmouth in Devonshire. Here he spent the period of his noviceship and early studies as a Jesuit. It was a French house of the Society. It was at Mold, at another French house of the Society, that he read his theology. In both houses his intellectual training was of the severely classical type. A Latin by birth, he was still more a Latin by education, reinforced by the usual period of teaching at Dôle, Mongré, Moulins, Saint Etienne, where the Society had colleges.

But the English atmosphere of Sidmouth and particularly of Mold had a marked effect on the young Jesuit : the " esprit classique " and the " esprit Newmanien " met and the Bremond that was to be was conceived. If one only knew how lightly or how deeply the original " esprit

classique" of the young Bremond was tinged with Cartesianism or dyed with the newly re-discovered Thomism, it would be possible to account for certain slightly anomalous views in the great *Histoire Littéraire*; mere Newmanism will not explain them. Bremond's psychology of pure prayer has, to my mind, much more of a Cartesian than a Thomist flavour. It is just a nuance, but significant, of the dominance in French thought of the philosophy of Descartes before and after 1880.

We should like to know, too, how much Bremond was influenced *philosophically* by that rather sinister thinker, von Hügel. The Abbé Dimnet tells us that von Hügel and Mrs. Meynell both lionized Bremond, not to his advantage, but I fancy their influence on his deeper mind was really small. Tyrrell may have been a greater force; but as far as one can judge from von Hugel's correspondence, neither of them regarded Bremond as a Modernist leader, a chief to be considered; he was merely a friendly sympathiser, not "one of the gang." If Bremond during his lifetime had read the letters which passed from von Hügel to Tyrrell, as published by Bernard Holland, he would have been horrified. If he erred in his sympathy, it was the fault of a generous heart, not of a perverse head. Henri Bremond, first and all the time, was a good priest. His warm personal friendship for Tyrrell and the hope of a reconciliation led him into an indiscretion and exposed him to ecclesiastical censure.

Bremond had left the Society of Jesus before the Modernist crisis had come to a climax; but his departure was friendly and his personal relations with his former brethren remained on the most kindly footing, as Père André testifies. He had many controversies, and sharp ones, with individual Jesuits like Père Cavallera, but charity was not broken. It is possible that Bremond was temperamentally unfitted to be a Jesuit; he was an artist and a man of letters, too impulsive and too original for the peace of mind of superiors who have to take responsibility

for their subjects' published views, too big a man and too great an artist to be muzzled or put in leading strings, As one of the secular clergy, free to follow his vocation as a writer without supervision, Bremond could do better work " ad majorem Dei gloriam."

Events justified the prudence of the Order. Bremond launched his great *Histoire Littéraire* and went from triumph to triumph. He was chosen by the Académie Française as the successor of Mgr. Duchesne, defeating the great scholar Camille Jullian, his rival for that famous fauteuil. The panegyric of his predecessor, which he delivered on the occasion of taking his seat among the Forty Immortals, created a sensation by its brilliancy, prudence and above all by its courage. To praise Duchesne at that time needed pluck and tact.

Readers of *Studies* will perhaps remember an article in which I dealt at some length with Bremond's controversy with Père Cavallera on the question of prayer and " ascétisme." When I heard that he had read this article, I felt a slight qualm of conscience, as my salad was more than a little acid ; so in self-defence I sent him a copy of my *Psychology and Mystical Experience.* In return he sent me the tenth volume of his *Histoire Littéraire,* which deals with *La Prière et les Prières de l'Ancien Régime.* This volume is pure literary criticism of a quality that only a cultured Frenchman could justly appreciate, and distinctly beyond my critical fighting weight. So the present reader will appreciate the delicate and kindly irony of the inscription : " à Monsieur J. Howley qui m'a pris pour un humoriste ! ! ! Ce livre le détrompera—Dans les volumes qui suivent—s'il plait à Dieu—j'aurai l'occasion à m'approprier certaines pages de *Psychology and Mystical Experience.*—Henri Bremond."

An adequate estimate of Bremond's work would need one of his own large volumes ; here we can only summarise. As literary critic and polemist, he is in the very front rank. His quotations are marvels of selection ; for he had an

almost infallible flair for the right passage to quote, and the amount of his reading was immense. As I have said, he restored a lost literary province to France. And he was a grand swordsman in a fight, a " very parfit gentle knight." As theorist of religious experience, his death has left his work incomplete. If he had lived to deal fully with the Quietest controversy, we might be able to form some just views about his theory of mysticism and " pure prayer " ; what we have is to a large extent incomplete. We find in him a rather strange prejudice against the orthodox methodic types of meditation and, also, a certain tendency to confuse the more sublime types of " affective prayer " with mystical experience in its proper sense. There is thus a certain uncertainty about his views of the two extremes of the Scala orationis : discursive meditation and the obscure contemplation of St. John of the Cross. Perhaps he regarded feeling sublimated to the maximum as the essence of " pure prayer." This is only my hypothesis. Had Bremond lived to deal with the problem of active and passive contemplation as brought out in the Quietest controversy, we could hardly have failed to have his real and definitive answer to the question, what is mysticism? But although he is continually attacking that question, for my part I have not discovered his full mind. I think he has failed to realise the fundamental point, the Agnosia which is the true Gnosis of God.

But, then, Bremond set out to write a literary history of religious feeling in France from the wars of religion to the present day, not some unreadable tome of mystical theology. He has done a grand work for France, for Christendom, for the greater glory of God. *Locum refrigerii, lucis et pacis dona ei, Domine.*

John Howley

THE ENIGMA OF KING ACHAB

BY HUGH POPE, O.P., D.S.S.

JOSEPHUS tells us that Herod the Great rebuilt the ancient Samaria which had been ruthlessly destroyed by Hyrcanus the priest-king,[1] and called it Sebaste.[2] He fortified it, surrounded it with a wall and erected a temple "in a sacred precinct of a furlong and a half round"; he also enlarged the city bounds and thus "rendered it not inferior to the most famous cities, for it was twenty furlongs in circumference."[3] As the walls rose the great builder must often have called to mind the destruction wrought by Hyrcanus and the three years' siege it endured at the hands of the Assyrians before its fall in B.C. 721 brought the kingdom of Israel to an end. But one wonders whether he ever called to mind the mighty king who made Samaria the important city it had once been, Achab of unholy memory.

The story of this king is told us at some length in the Bible. But the entire history of the Jewish kingdom from the accession of Solomon (B.C. 975) to the fall of Jerusalem in 586, some four hundred years, is comprised in forty-seven brief chapters only eight of which are concerned even partially with the kingdom of Israel which had revolted from the House of David. Hence this epitome—for such it is—has aptly been called "telescoped history.[4] This is particularly true of the chapters devoted to the rebel kingdom. Not a good word is said of any-one of its rulers, and rightly, for they were all schismatics, apostates and idolators. Yet now and again we come across a remark let fall by the Biblical writers which indicates that there was another side to their character. This suggests that we can hardly do justice to the various personages who pass across the stage of the Bible unless

[1] See the end of the article for all notes.

we can in some way reconstruct this history. How, for instance, explain the fact that such " mighty Prophets " as Elias and Eliseus lived wholly in the Northern Kingdom and seem never even to have been to Jerusalem ? The real difficulty, of course, in any such attempt at reconstruction has always been the lack of material outside the Bible. The decipherment of the Babylonian, Assyrian and Egyptian records has thrown considerable light on the history. The Bible, too, as noted above, provides hints which, when taken in conjunction with fresh outside information, enable us to fill in the gaps.

The main features of Achab's character are all too clearly stated in the Bible. He was certainly idolatrous ;[5] equally certainly he was mean and petty—note his behaviour over the attitude of Micheas the Prophet,[6] also of Naboth who disliked being ousted from his vineyard.[7] He was bad-tempered[8] too and weak,[9] as all bad-tempered people are apt to be. Moreover, he was absolutely under the thumb of the masterful Jezabel.[10] But then who would not have been ? Even Elias " was afraid " when he heard of her threats, and he fled to Bersabee and to Horeb.[11] But even as we read this bad record, we are puzzled by the curious friendship which linked him with so devout a sovereign as Josaphat of Juda.[12] How, too, are we to explain the inconsistency of Achab's atrocious treatment of Micheas and his apparent obsequiousness to other " men of God," whose advice he obeyed[13] but whose corrections drove him to frenzy ?[14] Was he really behaving like a coward when he submitted to Benhadad's first demands,[15] and like a hero when he drew the line at the Syrian potentate's further oppressions ?[16] Or was he a shrewd diplomat who knew his man and bided his time ?[17] He was dominated by Jezabel, the Phoenician princess, who encouraged him in his idolatrous proclivities, if she did not drive him in that direction, and who proved the veritable curse of the Northern Kingdom ;[18] but then a " henpecked husband " may be a very different person when away from petticoat

influence. Was this the case with Achab ? Renan must have had some reason for saying that he " equalled Solomon in mental grasp and surpassed him in military valour,"[19] however exaggerated such an eulogy may be.

Two passages in the Bible give colour to the above remark : " Let not the girded boast himself as the ungirded"[20] was a bold reply to the braggart message of the Syrian king with his huge hosts behind him. There is an heroic ring about it, and it is significant that the Prophets as well as the military rallied to his side at once,[21] though humanly-speaking their case was a desperate one. Nor were Achab's words mock heroics. When wounded to death " the king of Israel stood in his chariot against the Syrians, and he died in the evening."[22] His was a soldier's death then. Was it also a repentant death ? The curse of God fell on him and his house : " he was sold to do evil " and " became abominable " with his idolatries, yet he then "put haircloth upon his flesh, and fasted and slept in sackcloth, and walked with his head cast down " till he won from God the respite: "Because he hath humbled himself, for My sake I will not bring the evil in his days."[23]

Thus far the Bible, which is concerned with Israel and its apostate kings only so far as they affect the House of David. During the last sixty years, however, three sources of information have been opened up to us, and these throw much light on the times of Achab and his personal character. In 1869 the Moabite Stone was discovered. Now the Bible had told us that Moab was tributary to Israel and paid an immense tax ; also that it was only on the death of Achab that the Moabites dared rebel.[24] But the Moabite Stone commemorates among other things the successful issue of a revolt against an occupation of their territory which had lasted " forty years," during which the Israelites had fortified many Moabite towns and held them against their rightful possessors. As Amri only reigned twelve years and Achab, his son, twenty-two years, the " forty " years is clearly a round number ; but

it is evident that even if the conquest of Moab was the work of Amri rather than of Achab, yet that the latter held these cities during his reign is a proof of his military capacity and shews that his repudiation of the Syrian king's proposals to take Samaria was no idle boast, though it did cost him his life.

The second source of information is the records of the Assyrian monarchs. From the opening of the fourteenth century Assyria had been predominant. Egypt was decadent, the Hittite Empire broken, so that Assyria had a free hand. In a series of campaigns their hosts swept over the West and brought ruin with them.

But the interesting feature of these campaigns for our present enquiry is the resistance offered by Achab. Shalmaneser III, B.C. 860-825, had ravaged Phoenicia in his first campaign in the West and had, as he boasted, "washed his feet in the Mediterranean" as one of his predecessors, Assur-nazir-pal, had done.[25] When he again came to the West in 854, eleven kings combined against him. Chief among these were Irkuleni of Hamath, who inaugurated the alliance, Adad-idri of Damascus, and Achab of Israel.[26] The battle fought at Qarqar, perhaps to be identified with Apamea on the R. Orontes,[27] went against them, and Shalmaneser has left accounts of his triumph in at least four inscriptions which have come down to us. It is amusing to note how the figures of the slain vary in each account; they mount steadily from 14,000 to 20,500, 20,800, and finally 25,000.[28] But even the defeat at Qarqar did not destroy the coalition, and in three successive campaigns—in 849, 848, 846—Irkuleni and Adad-idri (the Benhadad who was murdered by Hazael)[29] are found named by Shalmaneser as resisting him bitterly.[30] Achab is not named, though the Assyrian continues to speak of "the twelve (eleven) kings who are leagued against him." At any rate there seems to have been no siege of Samaria, and Achab finally met his death, after reigning twenty-two years, at the hands of the Syrian hosts.

It is surely significant that Jehu, the usurper who blotted out the house of Achab, immediately submitted to Shalmaneser when he came across the Euphrates " for the eighteenth time " in 842. The superscription over one of the scenes depicted on the famous Black Obelisk erected by Shalmaneser runs : " I received the tribute of the Tyrians, Sidonians and of Jehu the descendant of Omri."[31] The Assyrian annalist could hardly be expected to know that Jehu was an usurper ; indeed the Assyrians always spoke of the Northern Kingdom or Israel as " Bit-Omri," or House of Omri (Amri).[32]

The Assyrian *Annals* have shewn us, then, that Achab was, as the Bible had more than hinted, a man of war and a redoubtable adversary. The spade of the excavator has now been at work on the " Hill of Shomer," as the place was called when Amri bought it. The task of excavating the site began in 1908-10 when Harvard University worked with the assistance of such skilled excavators as Reisner, Schumacher, Fisher and Lyon.[33] But we had to wait till 1924 for a full account of their findings. Since then the work has been carried out in a joint expedition by Harvard, the Palestine Exploration Fund, the Hebrew University and the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem.[34]

Here we are only concerned with these excavations in so far as they illustrate the life of Achab. The first assaults on the mound resulted in one very interesting discovery, for a large number of " ostraca " or tiles on which entries had been made with ink and a reed pen were found. These were written in Phoenician characters very similar to the Siloam inscription of the time of Ezechias, 728-696, but they are in a running script owing to the material on which they are written.[35] They are all couched in the same form ; for example : " In the tenth year. From Yasat. A jar of fine oil. From Ahinoam." There seems no reason to question that they date from the days of Achab, for in a ruin now spoken of as the

palace of Achab was discovered an alabaster vase bearing the name of Osorkon II, B.C. 874-856, a contemporary of Achab.[36] A further interest attaches to these tiles, for they indicate that the administrative system established by Solomon, whereby in regular rotation the whole of Palestine ministered to the needs of the royal household,[37] still persisted despite the split between Juda and Israel. One is tempted to linger over these inscribed tiles. The writing is not incised or cut into the surface but written on it with a pen. This is precisely what Josue must have done when told to " set up great stones and plaster them over with plaster that thou mayest write on them all the words of this law " (Deut. xxvii. 2-4 ; see, too, the references to the writer with his ink-horn, Ezech. ix). It is impossible after this to talk as though the ninth century B.C. could not have been a literary age when one of Achab's stewards was able to write on potsherds an account of his receipts. Many of the towns or villages referred to on these tiles are not now identifiable, yet we have such well-known names as Abiezer, Helek, Shechem, Noe, and Hoglah.[38] In the course of excavations at Gezer and elsewhere there were found an immense number of jar-handles inscribed with the words " for the king." These apparently served the same purpose as the inscribed tiles found at Samaria ; they indicated, that is, the tribute paid to the sovereign by various southern towns, such as Gibea, Azeca and Maresha, and seem to have come from four distinct centres, Hebron, Memshath, Ziph and Socoh.[39] It is curious that none of these has been discovered in Israelite territory.[40]

Further, the Bible tells us that Omri bought from one Semer a hill on which he built a city which he named " Samaria," after its former owner (3 Kgs. xvi. 24). The implication is that there had previously been no building on the spot. In full accordance with this, the excavations of 1908-10 shewed that the remains of buildings found on the virgin rock dated from the era of Amri only. Here

were found the palaces of the early kings Amri and Achab, covering perhaps seven or eight acres of ground, with a magazine underneath measuring some 82 by 36 feet and containing eighteen rooms, with walls six feet thick. It is of peculiar interest to find here a cave twelve feet in height and measuring thirteen and a half by nineteen and a half feet across; one is irrestibly reminded of the prison to which the outspoken Micheas was condemned (3 Kgs. xxii. 27). Here were found eight ostraca belonging to the Persian period. Even more interesting perhaps is the discovery of a pool covering 32 feet by 17, presumably "the pool of Samaria," where "they washed Achab's chariot and the dogs licked his blood" (3 Kgs. xxii. 38). On the west side were found the remains of a palace which it seems safe to attribute to another great king in Israel, Jeroboam II, B.C. 782-741. Here were the remains of a tower the walls of which were seven feet thick, while the inside diameter was 32 feet.[41] The Bible speaks of "the gate of Samaria" (3 Kgs. xxii. 10) as though there was but a single gate, as at Jericho; and this is borne out by the excavations, which have laid bare but one entrance to the city. In front of this was a courtyard which must be the "court by the entrance of the gate of Samaria," where Achab and Josaphat sat "each on his throne, clothed with royal robes," while "the Prophets prophesied before them." Here, too, was fulfilled the prophecy of Eliseus that wheat and barley would, despite the famine then reigning, be sold cheap "in the gate of Samaria" (4 Kgs. vii. 1). Mention is also made in the Bible of "the house of ivory that Achab made" (3 Kgs. 39) and which Amos foretold would perish (Amos iii. 15, *cf.* vi. 4, Ps. xliv. 9). A house made entirely of ivory seems an impossibility and, not unnaturally perhaps, Reisner has suggested that the limestone of which Achab's palace was built might well shine like ivory.[42] But the discovery of a large number of ivory objects in the course of the later excavations may put a different complexion

on it. Amos speaks of "couches of ivory" in Samaria, vi, 4, and these recent discoveries shew that ivory was extensively used for ornamentation,[43] so that the expression "house of ivory" may merely mean a palace in which much of this was to be found. At any rate the luxury and wealth which, according to the Bible, characterised the Northern Kingdom is amply confirmed by the excavations. But perhaps even more significant is the character of these ivory fragments. For many of them are purely Egyptian in character, though no hieroglyphics have yet been found. Others betray a remarkable affinity with ivory objects discovered at Tell Arslan, in Assyria.[44]

Every excavation in Palestine, whether at Gezer, Megiddo, Bethshemesh or Jerusalem, has shewn how widespread and long-continued was the influence of Egypt in the Holy Land; so, too, here at Samaria we find the art of Egypt and Assyria penetrating. Facts such as these have to be borne in mind if we would arrive at a sound judgment on the religious character of a man like Achab. His was no isolated kingdom, as we might be tempted to conclude from the Biblical narrative. In close contact with Phoenicia, for he had married the daughter of its king, he was led into idolatry through her; he was also in very close touch with the ideas, the religions and the art of Assyria and Egypt. What was his real attitude to the religion of Juda, to the monotheism of the "Chosen People"? It is most difficult to say. We cannot even say that he was politically opposed to Juda,[45] for we recall his friendship with Josaphat. Nor can we say that he was opposed to the worship of Jehovah, idolator though he undoubtedly was. Yet here we must insist on the peculiar gravity of Achab's sin in this respect. Jeroboam I is always spoken of as he "who made Israel to sin," that is, by leading them into schism, by setting up the golden calves as symbols of Jehovah in whose worship no images were allowed. Now Achab not only encouraged this worship but, at the instigation of his wife and to please his

father-in-law, Ethbaal,[46] introduced the abominably licentious Phoenician form of worship, which was, of course, idolatry pure and simple, and which was, through the marriage of Achab's daughter Athalia into the House of David, soon to infect Juda as well as Samaria. This was Achab's great crime. Yet side by side with this apostasy we find him, as passage after passage in the Bible shews, perfectly conscious of the claims of Jehovah and submissive to His will. Truly he is an enigma, this Achab. Selfish, dominated by his queen, a soldier of no mean capacity, a diplomat, a builder and a ruler—verily

> " A man so various that he seemed to be
> Not one, but all mankind's epitome."

As we read the story of Samaria in the Bible, two great figures are constantly before us on the stage, Elias and Eliseus. And they too are enigmas. Whole-hearted servants of the True God, yet here they live and work in the apostate kingdom of Israel. They never seem to go up to Jerusalem, to the one true temple of God ; they are on imtimate terms with the schismatic people, while having, apparently, no relations whatever with those who owe allegiance to the house of David. We used above the expression " telescoped history " when talking of the Book of Kings. But we might justifiably employ the same expression when talking of the Religion of Israel and Juda, particularly of the former. That kingdom owed its existence to a formal act of apostasy. But how far did it go and what precisely did it mean ? Were the " golden calves," for instance, really idols or were they symbols, unlawful ones, of the true God ?

We have given this brief sketch of the reign of Achab, because without some acquaintance with the problems it presents we cannot expect to understand the great Prophets whose life's work lay in the schismatical and almost wholly paganised Northern Kingdom, Elias and Eliseus for example, and their successors Osee and Amos.

And these were the forerunners of those Prophets whose names are better known to us, Isaias, Jeremias and Ezechiel, whose office it was to save Juda if possible from the fate which had overtaken Samaria for crimes similar to those which infected Juda too in their day.

HUGH POPE

(Next issue : The Prophet Elias)

NOTES

[1] *Ant.* XIII, x. 3. This was in B.C. 109 ; fortunately for us Josephus exaggerated when he said Hyrcanus " utterly destroyed it," *cf. Rev. Bibl.*, 1925, p. 439. Later on the city was rebuilt by Gabinius. *Ant.* XIV, v. 3 ; *Wars*, I., viii. 4.

[2] *Ant.* XV, vii. 7, viii. 5. It is possible that the mutilated statue found there in 1909 may have been a giant figure of Sebastos, *cf. Rev. Bibl.*, 1909, pp. 439-40.

[3] *Ant.* XV, viii. 5. According to Père Vincent (*Rev. Bibl.*, 1925, p. 438) the site in Achab's time seems to have measured some 400 metres from east to west and 250 north to south.

[4] A notable example of this " telescoping " of history appears in the account of the fall of Samaria, 4 Kgs. xvii. 1-5, where the compression is such that the writer might well be thought to suggest that Shalmaneser and not Sargon actually took the city.

[5] 3 Kgs. xvi. 31-33, xxi. 5-8, 25, 4 Kgs. xxi. 3, 13. [6] 3 Kgs. xxii. 26-27. [7] 3 Kgs. xxi. [8] 3 Kgs. xx. 42-3, xxi. 4. [9] 3 Kgs. xx. 32-34, xxi. 25. [10] 3 Kgs. xix. 4, xxi. 5-8, 25, 4 Kgs. xxi. 3, 13. [11] 3 Kgs. xix. [12] 3 Kgs. xxii, *cf.* 2 Paral. xviii. 1-4. [13] 3 Kgs. xviii. 41-2, 48, xx. 13-15, 28. [14] 3 Kgs. xx. 43. [15] 4 Kgs. xx. 4.

[16] 3 Kgs. xx. 5-9. [17] 3 Kgs. xx. 32-34.

[18] 4 Kgs. viii. 18 ; 2 Paral. xxi. 6, 13, xxii. 3-4 ; Mich. vi. 16.

[19] *Histoire d'Israel*, ii. 301 ; " A man of real courage and of great resources," says R. W. Rogers, *A History of Babylonia and Assyria*, ii. 81.

[20] 3 Kgs. xx. 11.

[21] 3 Kgs. xx. 22, 28.

[22] 3 Kgs. xxii. 24-25 ; 2 Paral. xviii. 32-34 ; Josephus, *Ant.* VIII, xv. 5, has preserved a tradition that his slayer was Naaman !

[23] 3 Kgs. xxi. 27-29. [24] 4 Kgs. i. 1, iii. 5.

[25] Or in Père Scheil's translation, " I purified my weapons in the sea," on the Black Obelisk, B. 28, *Records of the Past*, New Series, iv. 39.

[26] " Dadda-idri (Benhadad) of the country of Damascus, 700 chariots, 700 litters (?), and 10,000 men from Irkuleni the Hamathite, 2,000 chariots and 10,000 men from Acha the Israelite . . . from the city of Qarqar I utterly defeated them," the " Monolith " inscription of Shalmaneser II, from Khurk and now in the British Museum, lines 91-2, 97, in *Records of the Past*, New Series, iv. 70-71 ; the same occurs on the Black Obelisk, D. 59-63.

[27] The battle at Qarqar is definitively assigned to B.C. 854 by the eclipse of B.C. 763. Qarqar itself is perhaps to be identified with Apamea, now Kala'at e el Midika on the R. Orontes, see Jack, *Samaria in the time of Ahab*, p. 126.

[28] See *Rev. Bibl.*, Jan. 1910, p. 67, also Rogers, *History of Babylonia and Assyria*, ii., p. 79.

[29] This identification is now universally accepted.

[30] Black Obelisk, D. 59-72; A. 88-89.

[31] Epigraph ii, *cf. Records of the Past*, v. 41, and in the New Series, iv. 52.

[32] See a fragmentary inscription of Tiglath Pileser in *Records of the Past*, v., pp. 51-2, "the land of Bit-Omri." This fact would seem to be the sole justification for speaking of Achab's "politically greater father Omri," R. H. Kennett, *Grammar of Old Testament Study*, in *The Church of Israel*, ed. by S. A. Cook, 1933, p. 173.

[33] See *Rev. Bibl.*, July 1909, for some account of results up to that date, also Jan. 1910, 113 *ff.*

[34] *Harvard Excavations at Samaria*, 1908-1910, by G. A. Reisner, C. S. Fisher and D. G. Lyon, 2 vols, Cambridge, U.S.A., Harvard University Press, 1924; see *Rev. Bibl.*, 1925, pp. 436 *ff.*, also *Syria*, 1925, pp. 314 *ff.*, 1926, pp. 9 *ff.*

[35] See *Rev. Bibl.*, April 1911, p. 292. So far seventy-five have been discovered, but only sixty-three are contemporary with Achab, *ibid.* 1925, p. 440.

[36] See *Rev. Bibl.*, 1911, p. 290; 1925, p. 440, note 2.

[37] 3 Kgs. iv. 7-19, 28; x. 26.

[38] See Abel in *Rev. Bibl.*, 1911, p. 290, and *cf.* Nbs. xxvi. 30-33, Jos. xvii. 2-3, 11, xix. 13; also *Rev. Bibl.*, 1925, p. 440.

[39] Quite 1,000 of these have been found; all but two belong to the Hellenistic period, *cf.* Vincent, *Canaan*, p. 359. Those found at Jerusalem seem to come from four distinct centres, viz., Hebron, Ziph, Socoh and Memshath, *cf.* Jack, *Samaria in the Time of Ahab*, p. 103.

[40] Two similar ostraca have recently been found at Jericho, the writing is Hebrew, see Jack in the *Expos. Times*, Feb. 1933, p. 231.

[41] See *Rev. Bibl.*, 1925, p. 439, note; also Oct. 1926, p. 631.

[42] See *Rev. Bibl.*, 1925, p. 439, note 2. Josephus tells us that Hyrcanus, son of Joseph, built himself in Transjordania a house "of white stone to the very roof," *Ant.* XII, iv. 11.

[43] Jack, *Expos. Times*, May 1933, p. 379, would see a parallel between this ivory work and the ornamentation of Solomon's Temple.

[44] Arslan-Tash, some 35 kilom. from Carchemish on the Euphrates, *cf. Rev. Bibl.*, Oct. 1932, p. 636.

[45] It is hard to understand how R. H. Kennett can say that "the opposition between Samaria and Judah had all along been political rather than religious," *The Origin of the Book of Deuteronomy*, edited by S. A. Cook in *The Church of Israel*, 1933, p. 87.

[46] "In order to gratify his father-in-law, Ethbaal, who was king of Tyre and Sidon, Achab built a temple for him in Samaria, and appointed him prophets, and worshipped him with all sorts of worship."—Josephus, *Ant.* IX, vi. 6.

SOME IRISH BARDIC POEMS

EDITED BY LAMBERT MCKENNA, S.J.

XXIX.

MARY'S BLESSINGS.

1. Fuigeall beannacht brú Muire
eocair go fóir focuide
glar gach duine do bí i mbroid
ir í uile do oslaig.

2. Ní tabair giolla ar a gart
tuar mar torad na mbeannocht
noca leag an tarad tig
neam agur talam tréimid.

3. Sgéal liom a lur na mbeannocht
dá bruair Muire móirceannacht
ní cuir rinn ar an éan óir
acd rgéal bur binn don banóig.

4. Lá d'laicim d'actair Muire
le naonboin dá monguire
do-cí naonbar go néim gloin
ra mbraonmag réid dá noctain.

5. Reic a bó d'fior a eacta
do cuindcid an cuideacta
learg le fear a mallbó a-mac
ir an tramlo geal gruanac.

6. Gabair uatair [gér] feidm dó
ceannac do cionn a aonbó
nocar ceannac nar gab greim
do mar an t-eallac d'laicim.

7. A naoi mbeannacta ar an boin
tugrad dó i n-ucht a éadaig
beannact an naonbair óig finn
go ba lóir d'aonboin laicim.

8. Labair a uċt umpa fain
téid 'f a bean leo fa leabaid
beantar fia fa leabaid leif
mar do ċeaduiġ Dia an deiġfeif.

9. Teagmaid annfain fuaifc an gleim
Muire mór do mnaoi laicim
deagaċain é fo b'é an fear
feanaċair Dé fa deifead.

10. Dia tréf an mbeannaċtain mbinn
gráduiġif inġin laicim
fuifge fif do póine fí
'f nior bfif a hóige an t-aifori.

11. Gabair Gaibfial gá guide
ón Aċair go hóġMuire
tiġ fanair do Moire mór
gabair 'n-a croide i gcéadóir.

12. Gur toffaċ Muire máċar
go hiodan don uflátar
Gaibfial fe bruinne nior bean
nior b'ainliad uifre an t-aingeal.

13. Trí fáite i meadón Muire
gein focair na focuide
an t-aoingein do bí fá bfoinn
'n-a trí haoibliu fo furfraing.

14. Rug an uairg mingeal Muire
uan coficfa i gcrú araine
ionad fuar [dorċa] nír dliġ
'f a huan coficfa mun gcaoifiġ.

15. Rugad if an Deiċil duig
airori nime fá nodlaig
tug fiod a gréin mar do gein
gur téig an biod dá bruiċin.

16. Orlaigid fe huċt an fgeoil
fuinneoga éargа if ai-eoir
gur laoi an gfian a doifire dí
dlaoi ar a foillfe fiam foime.

17. An t-a-éar lán do loire
ro b'urura a urmaire
ór cionn naomMuire go neam
'n-a aondoire fionn aingeal.

18. Na fáide foillrigtear dóib
airdrí an beatha 'gan banóig
coinneal ór cionn a hoctа
loinnear fionn na hógacta.

19. Túir dó ar a diadacт dáil glan
ór ar a fíogacт fugad
a linn noca chráig re tart
mirr n-a dáil ar a daonnacт.

20. Innirtear d'ioruad ann sin
go fuig bean ir an Deicil
an t-eo féanta car corcra
dar lar féalta fíogacта.

21. Cuirir a teaglac dá túr
tré formad ir tré iomtnúd
d'iarraid Dé gion gur [duilta]
'r é i ndiamair na diadocта.

22. Marbtar gac mac mór an gniom
dá raibe i n-aoir an airdrígh
do marbad Dé gion gur dlig
ro b'é adbar an airlig.

23. [Seactmogad] fa rocla ruairc
do bí ran Deicil briocfuairc
gac ar marba acaib ann
do macaib famla raorclann.

24. Do bádar lá i lurg Muire
muinntear ioruaid luladde
tarla i nglionn a gruad corcra
lé huan fionn ar folocта.

25. Tarla Griogair ar an ngleann
dalta ioruaid na n-óirbeann
ad-cí an fduag ceanngldan corcra
uad dealrad na diadocта.

26. Tuz Sgiozair sráð a anma
don naoidin óiz urgarda
cró Sgiozair gan rat ná rad
do mionuiz cat gá cornam.

27. Céadsgiozair do cuaid ra Róim
ir é már fíor don canóin
Sgiozair ra Róim ré real rain
fear ionaid Póil ir Peadair.

28. Gá iarraid ar muin Muire
do rinne an mac miorbuile
an taob fíorbán fá fearta
'n-a mionsrán caom cruitneacta.

29. Inniriú ir é gá ar
fear a faicrin tré . . .
an láran tré lorg a mbonn
fáraid an coiz 'r an colann.

30. Tiz an uairrin tréir an ar
muinntear loruaid na n-adrad
[gur] frar rain do bár gá buain
ar brár an air re haonuair.

31. Táinig lá a-muig do Muire
mian meara an croinn cumraide
a barr gur lomair dá láim
cromaid an crann 'n-a comdáil.

32. An uair do cait inr an gcoill
a lór do mear an mórchroinn
mar do cam don minsil móir
dirgid an crann i gcéadóir.

33. Dirgead mire mátair Dé
ionann ar bruil 'r ar breoilché
a craob fionn an eitne óir
leigte raor ionn 'n-a honóir.

34. Grádh liom do lorgad m'anma
m'aoidhe loma laramha
mé agur teine ar mo teangaid
reile Dé ré dhichleannaid.

35. Séideadh na dúiltleanna dínn
an béal fo bíadh an t-airdríghe
an druim ar a ndeachaidh muin
dom buinghe ó dheataigh Diabuil.

36. An chíoch do cuireadh 'n-a béal
eadram ir lúireann airmghéar
do-ghéadh connailbe Dé de
mé ar chomairge na cíche.

37. Eadram ir ailt na cróine
go mbé mac na móróighe
cnú beo mogail ar muine
eo tobair na trócuire.

38. Dadhach ghlanta gach gille
fochrugudh na firinne
geal ar a ndadhaigh gach dream
'n-a ramhail fleadh re fuigeall.

fuigeall.

Translation

1. Overflowing of blessings is Mary's womb; she is the key which has saved multitudes, and unlocked the door for all in trouble.

2. No husbandman raises on his land a crop like that of those blessings; the crop produced never fails; heaven and earth come through it.

3. I have a tale about those blessings by which Mary won her great power; I shall tell of the golden bird a tale which has naught but glory for the Virgin.

4. One day Joachim, Mary's father, was herding his single cow; he sees nine bright-shining men approach on the smooth moist plain.

5. This company—to test his disposition—ask him to sell his cow; but he was loath to let his stately cow go from him that bright summer day.

6. He accepted at length, though unwillingly, a price for his dear cow; 'twas a price that had great results, for his stock lived on.

7. Their nine blessings on the cow they gave into the lap of his garment; the blessing of those fair pure nine men was good return for Joachim's cow.

8. He folds his garments around those blessings; he and his wife retire to rest; she conceived by him, for God approved that holy marriage.

9. From this joyous union came Mary to Joachim's wife; a noble origin he, for he became the grandfather of God.

10. Owing to that sweet blessing God loved Joachim's daughter; she consorted with the High King, but He left her virginity intact.

11. Gabriel comes from the Father to the Virgin with his request to her; he gives the Message to great Mary and she forthwith conceives in her heart.

12. Gabriel touched not her womb, and brought no reproach upon her (?), and Mary mother in all purity became fruitful by that great power.

13. For nine months the Saviour-Child of the world, the only-begotten, shone (?). a three-fold flame lying in her womb.

14. The fair sweet mother Mary brought forth her bright Lamb in an ass's stall ; unfit was that dark (?) cold place for the Lamb with His mother.

15. Heaven's High King at Christmastide was born in kindly Bethlehem ; when He was born He made the sun speed faster to warm the earth with its fire.

16. At the news the windows of the moon and the firmament open, and the sun threw apart its doors which had till then covered its brightness.

17. It was then easy to perceive the sky full of brightness, one shining multitude of angels reaching from holy Mary up to Heaven.

18. To the Prophets is revealed the world's Lord in the Virgin's arms, a bright flame over her bosom, the shining splendour of virginity.

19. Incense for His Divinity is given Him—noble gift ! ; gold for His Kingship, and myrrh for His Humanity—its stream is not to be drained by any thirsty draught.

20. Then Herod is told that a woman in Bethlehem has brought forth the bright blessed graceful Salmon for whom the royal star shone forth.

21. In envy and jealousy he sends his folk to seek Him, to seek God, though He is unapproachable in the depth of His Divinity.

22. Then is slain cruelly every child of the Lord's age ; the cause of that unjust slaughter was the desire to slay God.

23. Seventy (?) noble children glorious and bright in ever-famous Bethlehem was the number of those slain.

24. The folk of the Jew Herod were one day seeking Mary ; that bright-cheeked maid was in a glen with her fair Lamb at a repast.

25. Gregory, a foster-son of Herod of the golden horns, happened on the glen ; he sees the bright noble-headed Lord, the glory of His Divinity shining from Him.

26. Gregory gives his heart's love to the pure lovely Infant ; in His defence he crushed a host ; may his house be ever blessed.

27. He according to history was the first Gregory who went to Rome, the successor of Paul and Peter, and who was in Rome in their day.

28. While being carried by Mary, her Son being pursued, performed a miracle, changing the white hill-side (?) in His generous power into fine smooth wheat.

29. A man when ploughing it (the hill-side) tells of what he saw, namely that from the earth trodden by their feet rises the wheat ears and the awns.

30. Idolatrous (?) Herod's folk advance through the field, and the corn that had suddenly sprung up suddenly disappears.

31. One day Mary desired the fruit of a fragrant tree ; the tree bends down to her and its branches are stripped by her hand.

32. When in the wood she had taken what she wanted of the tree's fruit, the tree straightened itself up again as it had bent down to the fair maid.

33. May the Mother of God raise me up erect; I should be set free for her sake; O fair branch of golden fruit, we are of the same blood and flesh—clay.

34. I fear my fierce passion-flames lest they burn my soul, I fear myself with fire on my tongue, I fear God's flaming breath.

35. May she whose mouth fed the Lord avert those flames from me; may she who carried Him keep me from Devil's fire.

36. May the breast that was laid to His lips be between me and fierce-hosted Hell; God's mercy I shall receive from Him owing to my flying for refuge to her bosom.

37. Between me and the pitch-black abyss may He stand, the great Virgin's Child, the fresh nut of a cluster in our brake, the Salmon of the well of mercy.

38. The vessel that cleanses all men, the cleansing power of Truth, the fair water in which the world can bathe—it is unstinted as a banquet.

Notes

MSS: D ii 1 f. 58. (D); 23 I 40 p. 147. (I); 3 C 18 p. 265. (C). D ascribes to Gilla Brí(g)de, IC to Donnċaḋ Mór Ó Dálaiġ. Text is D, all variants of the least import being noted below.

1 *b* na f. tṡ D *d* fuarloiġ I. 2 *c* leaḋ D. 3 *a* allur D, ar lor I. *b* fabuair D, da bruair I; m. an ṁ. I. *c* ar inn én D. 4 *a* la da i. D *b* da háengaire D. *c* mar ġrén ġloin I, go n. ng. D *d* naonṁaġ néo I; néig D. 5 *a* Ric D; iocta I; *cf* IGT § 71 *b* da cuintoiġ D. 6 *a* Gabar D; uata I; g-DI; bṡeiṫm I *c* tar cenn I, da cind D *c* ceanaċ D; do ġab I. 7 *c* naonmair óġ D *d* do ba I; lór DI. 8 *a* rin D. 9 *a* ainnréin I *b* M. óġ ingean i. I *c* d. hé D *c* a ḋeaġfaċair do bé rin I *d* deired D. 10 *a* firin mb. I *b* ingean D *c* roinne D, finne I; an fíġ I *d* ar nír D. 11 *a* da g. I *c* cuig I. 12 not in I. 13 *b* focair D *c* an traoiġin do bí na b. I *d* re trí fraoiġliḃ IC; na urraing D, do furfoinn C, do fuirfoin I; *cf* Leabhar Cloinne Aodha Buidhe XIV l. 132. 14 *ab cf* IGT l. 539 (reading arailе) *c* dotla D, fuar mo nuar doċra nar ḋ. I *d* man c. D 15 *a* mb. mb. I *b* airoṁiġ D *c* cuig na rioċ gréin I. 16 *a* Soillriġiu I *c* do laiḋ grian I *d* gonar f. r. r. IC. 17 *c* naenmuiri D *d* aenḋoiri D. 18 *b* airoṁiġ in beaċaḋ D *d* f. a hó. I. 19 *c* otraig I. 20 *b* ír[a] ḃ. D. 21 *a* Cuimor I; a teglaċ D *c sic* I, dotla D *d* no. a ḋ. I. 22 *b* roiḃ I *d* do bé I; orlig D, oirliġ I. 23 not in D *a* an feaċtmaġ I *c* marḃaḋ I. 24 *a* Tiagaid lá I *b* mac Iosaiḋeir iuḋaiḋe I *c* a ngioll a g. I *d* ra huan I. 25 *a* — ? g. don nglan finn I *b* mac i. na n-óirḋioll I. 26 *b* noiġ naraiḋa I, óig orguiḋa D *c* cid g. g. r. ní raiḃ I *d* c. da ċ. I. 27 *a* c. do ġaḃ an R. I *b* ir eaḋ I *c* R. real mar rin I. 28 *a* Ga ċloirfoin I *c* a taeḃ DI; fionḃán ba f. I. 29 not in I. *a* imiru D *b* aḋ- D *Leg* iongnaḋ? *c* lá rin D *d* farais a c. f a c. D. 30 *a* tṡefin nar D *b* ruaċ D mac i. ir na hiuḋail I; *Leg* n-arraḋ "of the tributes"? *c* ġer DI; rin da bár D *d* fár D, bráf I. 31 *b* cuḃraiḋi D *d* crann a cceaduib I. 32 not in I *a* ír[a] D. 33 *a* dirġiḋ I; a ṁ. I *c* in crabaiḃ rind in éitri D *d sic* I, léigti rind raer D; at onóir I, *sic leg*? 34 *b sic* DI larafla C *c* ċeanga I *d* ar na dhiċleanna I. 35 *a* dheiċleanna D *b* adrum D *c* fa druim a no. ar a m. I *d* dar mbuing I. 36 not in I. *c* da ġeb D. 37 *a* adrum D; all I *b* go roiḃ mac I *c* m. gaċ m. I. 38 *a* giolla I *c* daḃaiġ DI, daḃaċ C.

PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD AND HIS IRISH FRIENDS*

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ALTHOUGH no general attempt was made by the Irish to aid the cause of the exiled Stuarts, individual Irishmen took an active part in promoting their interests both in peace and war, and several are reckoned amongst their most intimate friends and most trusted advisers. With the earlier group, those who rallied round him whom his enemies denominated "the Elder Pretender," we are not immediately concerned. The most notable of them is of course Charles Wogan, who contrived and carried out the rescue of Princess Clementina Sobieski from her captivity at Innsbruck and escorted her to Italy to her intended husband, "James III, titular king of England, Scotland and Ireland."

Before the insurrection of 1745 most of these men were dead or else were too old for further active service. A few, however, form a link between the two groups. One of these is the Reverend George Kelly; usually spoken of as "Parson Kelly" to distinguish him from a namesake, a Cordelier, who was for a time confessor to Charles Edward.

George Kelly was born somewhere in Connacht about 1685, and educated in Trinity College, Dublin. Getting into trouble with the authorities owing to his Jacobite sentiments, he betook himself to England, where he acted as secretary to Bishop Atterbury. When, in 1722, Atterbury was arrested for Jacobite intrigues, Kelly was also

* *Bonnie Prince Charlie.* By Clennell Wilkinson. (Harrap. 1932. 8s. 6d.). *Prince Charlie.* By Compton Mackenzie. (Davies. 1932. 5s.). *Le Prince Errant. Charles-Edouard.* Par L. Dumont-Wilden. (Colin. 1934. 20 fr.). *Le Maréchal de Camp Baron de Warren. Correspondances et Notes,* 1740-1775. Par Léon Lallement. (Vannes. Chez l'auteur).

taken into custody, tried before the House of Lords, and condemned to be imprisoned " during the king's pleasure." In 1733 he escaped from the Tower of London by an ingenious trick. In spite of a reward of £300 offered for his recapture, he succeeded in crossing safely to France. In 1740 he was attached to the household of the Duke of Ormond at Avignon. Prince Charles was evidently impressed by him, as he offered him the post of private secretary to himself. This he accepted, and during the following years he stood so high in the Prince's confidence that he is sometimes spoken of (sarcastically) as a " minister." When, in June 1745, Prince Charles embarked for Scotland, he was accompanied by seven companions, afterwards to be known as " the seven men of Moidart." Of these, three were Irish : John O'Sullivan, Sir Thomas Sheridan and George Kelly. During the early part of the Scotch campaign Kelly served under the Earl Marischal George Keith, who distrusted him. Afterwards we find Lord Semphill doing the same—to such an extent that he refused to communicate to him the names of the chief Jacobites in England, and even expressed the opinion, when the insurrection had failed, that " Kelly had been the ruin of the cause." There had always existed amongst the Scotch adherents of Charles Edward great jealousy of the Irish—who, they considered, were allowed too much influence. Whether their doubts of Kelly were well founded we do not know. When, long afterwards, the Cardinal of York complains of " Kelly and his gang," it is not clear whether he refers to the priest or to the parson.

After Preston Pans, Kelly was despatched to France to solicit further aid for the campaign from Louis XV. He did not return to Scotland, but wrote encouraging letters, full of assurances that help was coming—so they should stand firm, " retreat must be fatal." When Prince Charles, after his escape, reorganised his household, Kelly returned to his former post as secretary. The distrust of

him amongst the Scotch still continued, and in 1750 Keith procured his dismissal. There were certainly some who thought well of him. A document in the French War Office expresses the view that he and one other man were the only persons about the Prince who really knew anything at all about the state of affairs in England.

The parson seems to have been readmitted to the household of Charles Edward. In 1754 there is mention of £50 paid to him. In 1756 he is " still with the Prince." In 1759 a letter from Paris to the Chevalier d'Estrées speaks of him as " absent for the last three months "—probably on some secret mission. After this we hear of him no more. He was the author of several short works on historical subjects.

We have seen that three Irish friends sailed with the Prince for Scotland in 1745. Their ship, the *Du Teillay*, was a war sloop, carrying eighteen pieces of cannon, and owned by Anthony Walsh, a rich Irish merchant of Nantes, who himself accompanied the expedition. Of the three above alluded to, the eldest was Sir Thomas Sheridan, who had been a tutor of Prince Charles, and was with him at the siege of Gaeta, his first experience of military service.

Sheridan was the son of an Irish Commissioner of Revenue who, with his family, had followed James II into exile. Of the earlier career of Thomas we know nothing. His pupil seems to have been greatly attached to him. When the party spent their first night on Scotch soil, in a wretched hut on the little island of Erishay, the supply of beds was insufficient for them all, and the Prince insisted on giving up the one which had been prepared for himself to Sheridan, having first examined the sheets to see that they were not damp.

The reception of the daring invaders was not at first encouraging. In fact there was no one at all to receive them. The general opinion was that it would be wiser to re-embark and return to France; only Sheridan advised

that they should go on, and his view prevailed. During the campaign of ten months which followed, Sheridan remained with the Prince, though his name does not often occur in accounts of military operations. He disapproved of the fatal decision to retreat from Derby. He was present at the battle of Falkirk (January 17, 1746), and gave a minute account of it in a letter to France. After the defeat of Culloden, he was one of those who rode with Charles Edward off the field of battle. But on the second day of the flight he was obliged to separate from him. He was too old to endure the hardships which were probably before them, and may have feared to hamper the movements of the younger men.

Some ten days after this battle, two French warships, carrying a treaure of louis d'or packed in six barrels and in charge of an Irish officer named Brown, put into the harbour of Borrowdale, on the Sound of Sleet. Very reluctantly Brown permitted the money to be landed in the absence of the Prince. The ship on its return voyage carried several fugitives, amongst them, old Sir Thomas Sheridan. He betook himself to Rome to the Chevalier, who bitterly reproached him for having encouraged the rash enterprise of his son. Grief and mortification are said to have hastened his death, which took place shortly after (November, 1746).

The third Irishman of the Moidart band was Colonel John O'Sullivan. Born in Kerry in 1700, he was sent to France in early boyhood to be educated for the priesthood. Finding that he had no vocation for clerical life, he joined the French army, accompanied Marshal Maillebois to Corsica, and afterwards saw much service during the War of the Austrian Succession. In the Scotch campaign he took a prominent part, being made Quartermaster-General of the Jacobite army. Lord George Murray speaks of his sitting drinking "Mountain Malaga" with the Prince, and neglecting to issue directions to the officers. Lord Elcho actually accuses him of personal cowardice. We

have mentioned, however, the jealousy of the Scotch Jacobites in regard to the Irish, and Elcho is particularly spiteful and unreliable. Another contemporary (French) declares that O'Sullivan's reputation for knowledge of military affairs, and particularly for skill in directing guerilla warfare, stood very high indeed. At Preston Pans he played a leading part, and the disposition of the Prince's troops for Culloden was entrusted to him. When the defeat of that fatal day was complete and Charles Edward seemed unable to realise that all was lost, it was Colonel O'Sullivan who caught his horse by the bridle and forced him from the field.

This was on April 16 (1746), and for two months from then O'Sullivan accompanied the royal fugitive in his wanderings, mostly among the wild western islands of Scotland; sleeping often in the open air or in huts or caves, daring stormy seas in open boats, and living on scanty fare of the roughest kind. About the middle of June, they were on the eastern side of South Uist, and it was decided to ask Miss Flora Macdonald, who lived on the west of the island, to receive and shelter the Prince. So large a party of strangers would, they feared, excite attention, so they separated, O'Sullivan remaining behind with Donald Macleod, a faithful Scotch adherent, while Prince Charles started westward. A few days later, a French cutter put into the harbour and O'Sullivan, quite exhausted from the hardships which he had gone through, was taken on board and conveyed to France. He remained attached to the exiled family and was created a Jacobite baronet. The date of his death is unknown. His son fought on the English side in America, and subsequently entered the Dutch service.

One of the two companions who remained with Prince Charles when he parted from O'Sullivan on South Uist was Captain Felix (or Phelim) O'Neill. He was, of course, of Irish extraction, but of continental birth; the son of a brigadier in the Spanish service, he himself had served in

the Spanish army. In 1744 he joined the Irish Brigade (Lally's Regiment), and in 1746 was sent to Scotland with despatches from the Duke de Richelieu. He was present at Culloden, and after the defeat remained with the Prince. He has left a most interesting journal describing their wanderings and adventures. Of the courage, kindliness and cheerful spirit of Charles Edward he speaks most highly. Once, when his follower seemed depressed, the Prince rallied him, saying: "O'Neill, is this all the faith and trust you have in God? Pull up your spirits, man. Never despair." On another occasion he induced some Highland lasses to dance, and danced himself to cheer up the party.

When, after parting with O'Sullivan, the little band of three met Flora Macdonald in a lonely hut, and begged her to provide for the Prince's safety, she at first hesitated, saying that she feared to bring her relatives into danger. O'Neill it was, according to his own account, who persuaded her to agree. Finally, she undertook to try to get passes for herself, the Scotchman Mac Eachain and "Betty Burke," a maid servant. The character of this last was to be assumed by the Prince. O'Neill desired to accompany the party—moved, it is said, not only by affection for the Prince, but by a sentimental attachment which he had conceived (rather suddenly!) for Miss Macdonald. The lady, however, demurred; she could not get a fourth pass, she said. O'Neill was obliged to leave them and to return to the eastern coast of the island. He had been directed by the Prince to join him at Skye; but when, after some delay, he reached it, the royal fugitive had already left. Making his way to Benbecula, he was there arrested—being, he asserts, betrayed by a friend in whom he had trusted. His captors gave him very rough treatment, stripping him naked and threatening him with scourging if he would not tell where the Prince was. Finally, a Captain Mac Caghan interposed and stopped these proceedings. General Campbell, he asserts,

told him that he would take charge for him of any valuables which he had. He therefore handed over 450 guineas and a gold watch. These were never returned to him. After being kept a prisoner for some time in Edinburgh Castle, O'Neill was transferred to London. On the way thither he met Flora Macdonald, also a prisoner. It is said that she gave him a playful slap on the cheek, crying : " To that black face I owe all my misfortunes." Next year (1747) he was exchanged, and returned to France and to his regiment.

A good many officers and men of the Irish Brigade took a share in the latter part of the Scotch campaign. There were nearly 500 of them at Culloden under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Walter Stapleton of Berwick's regiment, who was fatally wounded in the battle. These were " picquets "—men selected from various regiments, especially from that of Rothe. They were stationed in the centre of the Jacobite lines and are said to have fought very bravely. Another detachment, on its way to join the Prince and bringing stores and money, was captured by an English vessel. Amongst the prisoners was Richard Talbot, a grand-nephew of the Duke of Tyrconnell.

The trials of a few of the Irish prisoners are recorded (Jacobite Trials). One, named Drake, successfully pleaded the Articles of Limerick and was released. Another was Nicholas Glascoe, of Dillon's regiment. He said that he was born in France and spoke only French till, wishing to enter Dillon's regiment, he learned " an Irish sort of English." Among the witnesses heard in his defence were a John O'Neill, a Captain John Burke, and a Captain Garry, prisoners themselves, one presumes. O'Neill said that Glascoe was born at St. Germain. His grandfather, Christopher Glascoe, had come to France after the surrender of Limerick. Burke, who also was born at St. Germain, confirmed the statement that to enter Dillon's regiment a knowledge of English was necessary. As for

himself, he said: "If I was asked, I should call myself an Irishman." Garry speaks in the same way: "I was born in France, yet call myself an Irishman." The result was that Glascoe was declared innocent of high treason. "He owes no natural allegiance" (to King George), Chief Justice Willis pronounced, "for he came here as an enemy." He was committed to custody as a prisoner of war.

Amongst other Irishmen in the campaign of 1745-46, Colonel Brown of Lally's regiment deserves mention. He escaped from Carlisle when it was captured by the Duke of Cumberland's artillery, and rejoined the Jacobite army. He was afterwards sent to France to bring tidings of the Battle of Falkirk, and is said to have given a most exaggerated account of the extent and importance of the victory and the losses of the enemy.

Colonel Baggot, who commanded Prince Charles's hussars and was wounded at Culloden, was blamed for allowing his soldiers to plunder without restraint, and is noted as "a very rough sort of man."

Of Anthony Walsh I have already said something. He was a rich merchant and shipowner of Nantes. He is stated to have owned twenty-four vessels, with which he carried on an extensive trade with South America and the West Indies. It was in his ship the *Du Teillay* that Prince Charles sailed for Scotland in 1745. Another larger ship, the *Elizabeth*, was to act as a convoy. She, too, was owned by an Irishman, Walter Rutledge, of Dunkirk. Unfortunately the *Elizabeth* met with an English armed cruiser, and in the fight that followed was so badly damaged that she had to put back to Brest; the *Du Teillay* proceeded on her voyage alone.

Walsh and Rutledge had between them advanced £3,800 for the enterprise, and this James Francis returned some years after. Walsh remained a couple of weeks with the Prince and then returned to France. He was the bearer of an official notification of the voyage

and landing addressed to the French Government, and also of a letter from Charles Edward to his father praising Walsh and asking that a title should be conferred on him in acknowledgment of his services. James complied with the request, and before the end of the year the merchant became "Lord Walsh de Serrant." A picture in the library of Serrant represents Walsh taking his farewell of the Prince, who is dressed in full Highland costume.

On her return voyage the *Du Teillay* captured several English vessels.

The correspondence of Walsh and of his son and grandson (or nephew and grand-nephew) with several distinguished personages of the day has been published by Antoine Walsh under the title of "Une Famille Royaliste" (Nantes, 1901). Several of the letters are from Prince Charles, who signs himself "John Douglas"—Walsh being "M. Legrande." Matters political, where touched on, are generally veiled under the guise of family news. The last letter in date is from the Cardinal of York (signed "Henry R. Card."). Dated 9th December 1791 and written from Frascati to Walsh, it congratulates the Count de Serrant on the relations he is maintaining with the Royalist exiles in Coblentz.

In 1745 preparations were being made for a French descent on England. A letter from the Minister Maurepas (16 Dec., 1745) desires Walsh to see to the gathering together at Boulogne of the required ships from the ports of Normandy and Flanders. Another (Dec. 24) mentions that eighteen battalions, of whom six are to be Irish, are to be embarked. Walsh is to inform the Minister when all the preparations are complete. The utmost secrecy is to be observed. In the following March comes an order to the captains of the vessels from the king himself. They are to follow the directions of Walsh as if given by Louis himself. The naval enterprise, as we have seen, ended in nothing, but Walsh's services were not forgotten. In December 1753 comes a royal rescript entitling him

to all the privileges of nobility—which, of course, under the old French regime were important. Another (March, 1755) declares that the Walshs had proved their descent from an ancient noble family of Ireland. They are, therefore, empowered to bear the name and to enjoy the seignorial rights of Counts de Serrant.

In July 1760 Anthony Joseph Walsh receives a commission in the regiment of Clare, and further promotions are afterwards mentioned. In 1777 the Count de Serrant is admitted to the order of Saint Louis and in 1784 is made Maréchal de Camp. The original Anthony Walsh died in 1755. Up to the end of his life he continued to receive letters from Prince Charles, mostly concerned with business matters. One is signed "votre véritable ami J. D." (John Douglas). Several of Walsh's correspondents are, like himself, French-Irish. The most important are O'Brien (Marshal Thomond), O'Hegarty a ship-owner, and very particularly Richard Warren.

Warren played a very important part in the romantic history of the insurrection of 1745. His family is said to have come to Ireland in the reign of Henry II, and he himself was born in or about 1705 in Corduff. He was the second son of John Warren, a landed proprietor, all of whose five sons, except the eldest, passed over to France. At what time Richard left Ireland we do not know. In 1741 we find him engaged in commercial pursuits in Marseilles. His success was not great, and in 1744 he decided, being in financial difficulties, to arrange his affairs as well as he could and to take up a military career. In the same year he entered as a volunteer the Irish Brigade, in which two of his brothers were already serving.

It was commonly believed at that time that Louis XV intended an immediate invasion of the British Isles in the interest of "James III," and Warren, always an ardent upholder of the Stuart cause, was most anxious to take part in so glorious an enterprise. When Prince Charles in 1745 embarked for Scotland, Warren, now a captain in

the regiment of Rothe, awaited with impatience an order from Versailles that the Irish Brigade should hasten to the assistance of the young hero. No such order, however, came. France had not a mind just then to openly support the Stuart cause. Later it was privately conveyed to the various regiments that, if individuals desired to pass over to Scotland on their own account, no obstacle would be put in their way. Of this permission Richard Warren and his two brothers availed themselves, and in October 1745 they landed at Stonehaven. Warren placed himself at once under the orders of Lord George Murray and was employed by him in the construction of forts and batteries on the Forth. Afterwards he joined the army of the Prince with the rank of Colonel, and took part in the advance into England, the siege of Carlisle, and the disastrous retreat from Derby. When the Jacobite army returned to Scotland, Colonel Warren was entrusted with the task of recruiting in the neighbourhood of Atholl but the result was not encouraging. The sole hope of success for the enterprise seemed now to rest in the speedy arrival of powerful reinforcements in men, money and arms from France. To press for these Warren was despatched in the March of 1746 to the Court of King Louis. In order to emphasize the measure of success already attained, a number of the captured English prisoners were entrusted to the care of the envoy. At the court Warren was most graciously received ; the king asking for a minute account of the campaign and expressing great solicitude for the safety of the young Prince. No action, however, followed, and the only tangible result of Warren's mission was that some money and supplies collected from leading Franco-Irish Jacobites were despatched to Scotland in charge of the younger Thomas Sheridan.

In the midst of all this came the news of the crushing defeat of Culloden (April 16, 1746). Warren at first tried to disbelieve that the disaster was as great as represented, but the sad truth was soon clear. His brother, who had

taken part in the battle, sent a minute account of it and its immediate results.

To save Prince Charles from the clutches of the Duke of Cumberland and his army was all that could now be attempted, and even in regard to this the French Court hesitated. Only in July was Warren informed that ships were to be sent to attempt the rescue and that the conduct of the expedition would be entrusted to him. Before setting out Warren tried, without success, to obtain a false baptismal certificate which, by showing him to have been born in France, would entitle him, if captured, to claim the status of a prisoner of war.

The preparation of the ships was made in secret; and owing partly to this, there was much delay. Only on August 31 did the two vessels, *L'Heureux* of 36 guns and *Le Prince de Conti* of 24 guns, set sail from Cape Fréhel. There were, besides Warren, several other prominent Franco-Irish Jacobites on board. Owing to contrary winds, the voyage was slow and tedious; so that the vessels did not reach the Scotch islands until September 13th. To find the royal fugitive was both dangerous and difficult. English soldiers were scattered over the country in small bands. On one occasion, Warren and his friends were enabled by their fluency in the language to convince the officer commanding one of these that their vessels were British ones, returning from Newfoundland. The country people, whose sympathies were generally Jacobite, were suspicious of their intentions, and at first hesitated to give them information as to the whereabouts of the Prince. At last, however, one of the party was recognized as having served in the campaign, and information of their arrival was conveyed to Charles Edward. On September 19th Warren, Sheridan and some others went on shore to receive the Prince and take him on board *L'Heureux*. On October 10th Charles Edward was safely landed at Roscoff, in Brittany. His great adventure and the most honourable part of his career had come to an end.

A veritable chorus of praise from the Jacobites rewarded Warren's success. King Louis bestowed on him a pension of 1,200 livres, and his own titular sovereign, " James III," raised him to the ranks of the nobility with the title of " Chevalier Baronnet." Although during the remaining twenty-nine years of his life Warren had little personal intercourse with the Prince, he neither forgot him nor was by him entirely forgotten. In 1760, in reply to congratulations for the New Year, Charles Edward writes to the Chevalier from Rome, assuring him of his continued gratitude for the devotion which he had shown. The letter is signed " your sincere friend, Charle, R." In 1747 Colonel Warren joined the forces led by Marshal Saxe, and in the succeeding years saw much military service in the Netherlands. He continued to correspond with many of his compatriots, male and female. To Madame O'Brien (Lady Lismore) especially he wrote long and amusing letters, to which the lady replied by accounts of what was happening in Paris, and especially what were the prospects of the Stuart cause and the chances of another attempt being made by France to invade the British Isles in the interest of the exiles. These chances were indeed small, and grew less as time went on. In 1748 France began negotiations with Great Britain for peace. Amongst the conditions proposed was one that Louis XV should acknowledge the Hanoverian succession and expel the Stuart " Pretenders " from the territory of France.

James Francis had long resided in Rome, so that only his son would be personally affected by this order; but his indignation and that of his adherents was not lessened by this fact. It was resolved to draw up and issue a formal protest against the proposed measure. In September 1748 Madame O'Brien (Lady Lismore) writes to ask Warren whether he is willing to undertake the task of affixing the copies of the protest, which " James III " had signed, on the doors of the chief buildings in Aix-la-

Chapelle, where the peace negotiations were being carried on. Warren gladly consented, and a couple of weeks later he describes to the lady, in a very amusing letter, how he had fulfilled his mission, going round at midnight, accompanied by a man carrying a pot of paste. As a very special compliment, he had pasted two bills on the house where the representative of Hanover resided.

Nothing was, of course, achieved by this. The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle as finally signed (October 18, 1749), contained the clause to which the Jacobites had objected. Two months later Charles Edward, having refused to quit France, was arrested and conveyed forcibly to the frontier. Such an insult to his beloved prince—" the Hero," as he often in his letters calls him—filled Warren with rage and grief. His financial straits obliged him nevertheless to continue in the military service of France.[1]

In 1754 Warren was granted the honour, which he had long desired, of being made a Knight of the Order of St. Louis. Rumours of an intended invasion of England by France were now again in the air, and Jacobite hopes rose high. Certainly for such an enterprise they felt sure that the help of " the Hero " would be needed! But, although war was declared between England and France in 1756, of the invasion or of the Stuart claims there was no question, and Warren pours forth his disappointment in a letter to Lady Lismore.

Still, the optimistic Irish nature continued to assert itself. In 1759 Warren—he had now been raised to the rank of Brigadier-General of Infantry—was long planning the details of a campaign in Scotland and suggesting that a " M. Kavanagh, established at Dunkirk," should be employed to land arms secretly at the Scotch ports in merchant ships. It really did seem as if something was

[1] In September 1750 Charles Edward is generally thought to have made a flying visit to England. It is remarkable that, about this time, Warren was granted eight months' leave of absence from his regiment. Whether he accompanied the Prince we do not know ; but next year he was certainly in London for a short time.

going to be done. The Irish regiments of Clare, Dillon and Rothe were ordered by the Government to hold themselves in readiness, and directions were issued to Warren regarding the supplies of provisions for the soldiers. Again, however, fate was against them. In November, 1759, Admiral Hawke inflicted a crushing defeat on Admiral Conflans near Belleisle, and no more was said of the proposed invasion of England.

In 1760 "James III" conferred on the Chevalier Warren the rank of Major-General of his army. The honour, shadowy as it was, probably afforded the faithful adherent of the exiled house a great deal of satisfaction. It is needless to follow the fortunes of Warren during the remaining fifteen years of his life. He was employed by the French government to supervise many military arrangements, and now and then was sent on special missions to various parts of France. He continued to correspond with his compatriots in Paris and elsewhere, and often interested himself to obtain assistance for those who needed it, or promotion in the army for their young sons. In 1763 he was appointed Governor of Belleisle, and in June 1775 he died at Le Palais. The register of burials describes him as "Richard Augustus Warren, Baron of Corduff, Chevalier Baronnet of Great Britain, Chevalier of the Royal and Military Order of Saint Louis, Marshal of the Camps and Armies of the King." His age is given as "about seventy years". Like so many others of his exiled countrymen, he might be described as "semper et ubique fidelis" to the cause which he had made his own.

MARY HAYDEN

ST. MARY MAGDALEN—FACT AND LEGEND

BY HERBERT THURSTON, S.J.

HOWEVER glad we should be to find historical justification for the complex of ideas, devotional and artistic, which are associated with the name of St. Mary Magdalen, it cannot be pretended that any fresh evidence has come to light in our own days which would support the received tradition. It would, in fact, be quite unreasonable to hope for anything of the sort. There is nothing new to be discovered, and the pretence made in a recent publication that materials from the Talmud and from archaeological sources have now, apparently for the first time, been taken into account, is discreditably misleading.[1] So far as there has been any change of view the current of educated opinion during the last half century has set steadily in a direction adverse to the legend. No doubt progress has been slow, but it is easy to account for this. Besides the conservatism very rightly attaching to beliefs which are bound up with our devotional practices and enshrined in the liturgy, there are also certain vested interests involved, as well as provincial or national prejudices of a kind which are not easily dispossessed. The legend of St. Mary Magdalen is a cherished asset associated with observances dear to the warm-blooded children of the Midi and lending a certain prestige to the whole of Catholic France. Moreover, the illustrious religious Order, which for more than six centuries has been invested with the custody of the shrine, holds in special veneration the memory of the great Father Lacordaire and has many reasons for defending a cause with which he

[1] I refer to the *Vie de Sainte Marie Madeleine* by the Abbé Jean Brierre (Paris, Lethielleux, 1933). The Talmudic references to Mary of Magdala have been thoroughly and repeatedly discussed ever since the time of the hebraist, John Lightfoot, who died in 1675.

was so conspicuously identified. Thus, to take a single example the writer of the article in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, supporting loyally the traditions of his religious brethren, not only maintains the identity of Mary Magdalen with the sister of Lazarus and with the unnamed "sinner" of Luke, ch. vii, but assures us that the head of the holy penitent still reposes at the Sainte Baume (near Marseilles), "where it has lain so long and been the centre of so many pilgrimages."[1]

There are then, let us note, two primary issues over which a lively controversy has raged for several centuries past. The first is the question of the Magdalen's identity. Was there only one woman in the Gospels whose personal devotion emboldened her to touch our Saviour's living flesh,[2] or were there perhaps three such women all distinct from each other? The second question is entirely concerned with the evidence for the coming of St. Mary Magdalen and her companions to the South of Gaul, and its solution clearly depends in large measure on the answer we return to the first. If Mary Magdalen was a different person from Mary, the sister of Lazarus, then the subsequent history of the family from Bethany, whether in Provence or elsewhere, tells us nothing of the fate of the "Magdalen." There might be a Mary famous in the Gospel story who eventually died and was buried in Southern Gaul, but it would not in that case be she who stood with the holy Mother beneath the Cross and was the first recorded witness of the Resurrection. It is evident, then, that the point which first claims attention is the question of identity.

[1] *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. IX, pp. 761-762. It is curious to find that, in the article "Lazarus" in the same volume, M. Léon Clugnet states that the legend of the coming of Lazarus and his sisters to Provence has no solid foundation.

[2] I assume from the tense used in the Greek phrase which we translate "Touch me not," that Mary Magdalen was already clinging to Our Lord as He spoke these words to her. *Cf.* Matt. xxviii. 9. It is curious that when Père Prat and other writers lay stress upon personal affection as the one characteristic common to the three, they do not remark the rather striking trait that all three physically touched Him.

With regard to this there is no probability that entire certainty can ever be reached. We must resign ourselves to our ignorance. No theologian will contend that the matter is conclusively decided by the fact that the Roman Breviary and Missal take it for granted that it was one and the same person, best known to us as Mary Magdalen, who was the unnamed public sinner (in Luke vii, 37-50), who sat at Our Lord's feet while Martha was busy about much serving (in Luke x, 38-42), and who figures so prominently in the events of the Resurrection morning (John xx, 1-18). The breviary lessons for her feast are taken from St. Gregory the Great, and beyond all doubt this Father, writing at the close of the sixth century, had, in marked contrast to the hesitating pronouncements of those who preceded him, arrived at a definite conclusion that Mary Magdalen was identical both with the " sinner " and with the sister of Lazarus. It was natural enough that a view plainly set out in the books of the liturgy should win general acceptance as if it were an immemorial tradition. Apart from the considerations which have been pointed out by Père Lagrange and Father Holzmeister as specially likely to recommend it to popular favour,[1] I am inclined to lay stress upon a feature of the case already hinted at above, viz., the fact that Our Lord on certain rare occasions had permitted a woman's hand to touch His sacred flesh. It seemed to mark that woman out as raised to very special intimacy, and it was this act, as we know, which had scandalised the pharisee (*sciret utique quae et qualis est mulier quae tangit illum quia peccatrix est*). The not over-critical mediaeval student of the Gospels may very well have argued that such holy presumption must be characteristic of one individual only. Even now we have to admit that there is no quite convincing argument to disprove the identity of the three women of whom this physical contact is recorded.

[1] See Holzmeister in *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie*, 1922, pp. 402-422 and 556-584.

With the ramifications of the rather intricate problem of their identity or diversity it is impossible to deal here; but I am anxious to point out that, after the influence of St. Gregory had for centuries so far prevailed that it seemed almost theologically temerarious to propound any divergent view, there has been of late a noteworthy tendency to open the question again. If we take those books dealing with the Gospels and the Life of Our Lord, which only a score of years since were regarded amongst Catholics as most critical and authoritative, one may notice that with hardly an exception they espouse the theory that Mary Magdalen was identical with "the woman who was a sinner," as well as with Mary the sister of Lazarus. This was the opinion of Didon, Fouard, Le Camus, Fretté, Ollivier, Vigouroux, Fillion, Corluy, Lesêtre, Schegg, Kaulen, Coleridge and many more.[1] No doubt Bossuet two centuries earlier had argued in a contrary sense, and there were a handful of writers of lesser name, as well as the majority of Protestant commentators, who inclined to think that three quite distinct persons had been fused into one. But as a rule the authority of St. Gregory the Great, voicing, it was supposed, some much older tradition, was held to settle the matter. The *sensus fidelium* embodied in the Roman liturgy and in all Christian art could not be set aside with impunity.

Perhaps the first Catholic commentator of note who ventured in recent times to enunciate firmly an independent view was Father Knabenbauer in his commentary on St. Matthew's Gospel, published in 1892.[2] He did not attempt to disguise his conviction that, looking only to the text of the New Testament, Mary of Bethany cannot reasonably be held to be the same person as St. Mary Magdalen. On the other hand, he was careful to leave a loophole for more timid interpreters. He admitted that

[1] See Holzmeister, *u.s.* pp. 403-4.

[2] Father Knabenbauer's view is also summarised and endorsed by Father M. Hagen, S.J., in his *Lexicon Biblicum* (1911), Vol. III, cc. 110-111.

arguments drawn from patristic tradition and from the liturgy had also a claim to be taken into consideration; these when duly examined might sway the balance before a final judgment was arrived at. But patristic research, he contended, formed no part of the business of exegesis. Confining the investigation to the letter of Scripture, the terms in which the Evangelists express themselves are, he says, such that we cannot without violence suppose these two holy women to be one and the same. St. Luke (viii, 2) definitely groups " Mary who is called Magdalen " with the women who came from Galilee and " who had been healed of evil spirits and infirmities," whereas Mary the sister of Martha and Lazarus, having, as we learn from St. John (xi, 1 and xii, 1), her home at Bethany, near Jerusalem, is introduced by St. Luke (x, 39) in such a way that no one could suspect that she had already been mentioned a chapter or two earlier in the same Gospel. Similarly, in St. John, the Mary who was so prominent in the story of the raising of Lazarus (xi, 1-15) and who anointed the feet of Our Lord (xii, 2-3) is consistently called simply Mary, whereas beside the Cross and after the Resurrection we read of a Mary who is not indicated as a person mentioned before, but is styled the Mary from Magdala. If St. John had simply wished to distinguish the Mary who figures so prominently in the eleventh and twelfth chapters of his Gospel from the other Marys among the holy women, we should have expected him to describe her as the Mary from Bethany or as the sister of Lazarus. The fact that he does not do so confirms the impression already derived from St. Luke that the Magdalen was an entirely different person. We must note, too, as the same commentator points out, that St. John is wont to be particularly solicitous to indicate the individual meant where there was danger of confusion. We several times come upon such little asides as " Judas saith to Him (not the Iscariot)," " Nicodemus said to them (he that came to Him by night)," etc.

Similar difficulties attend the identification of the unnamed woman " who was a sinner " (in Luke viii, 37-50) with " Mary who is called Magdalen, out of whom seven devils were gone forth." The latter is mentioned in almost the very next verse, and the irresistible impression of the reader must be that the evangelist is here introducing us to a new character. Even though the expulsion of the seven devils might be a figurative way of referring to her conversion from a sinful life, it is curious that in St. Mark (xvi, 9), who makes no reference to the incident in the house of Simon the pharisee, Mary Magdalen is described on the Resurrection morning as the woman " out of whom He had cast seven devils."[1]

I must dispense with any discussion of the anointings, though these also have furnished arguments for disputing the identity of Mary of Bethany with the unnamed sinner. It is more important to notice that since Father Knabenbauer wrote, other distinguished exegetes have expressed themselves in the same sense and with less reserve. The very great reputation which Père Lagrange, O.P., has acquired as a biblical scholar, lends exceptional weight to his opinion, and he, like Father Knabenbauer, has not hesitated to declare that the identity theory is untenable.[2] Not less eminent as a profound and sober critic in a somewhat different line of scriptural study is Père Ferdinand Prat, S.J., whose epoch-making work on the Theology of St. Paul has gone through many editions and been translated into English. Within the last few months Père Prat has published in two stout volumes a Life of Jesus Christ which even on a casual inspection reveals itself as the fruit of many years of study. Here again in a short

[1] It must be remembered, of course, that this verse occurs in a section of St. Mark's Gospel the authenticity of which has been challenged by many non-Catholic critics.

[2] See Père Lagrange's article in the *Revue Biblique*: " Jésus a-t-il été oint plusieurs fois et par plusieurs femmes ? " (1912, pp. 504-532), and his commentary on St. Luke's Gospel (1921), p. 236, where he says: " L'identité de la pécheresse ou de Madeleine avec Marie de Béthanie est tout à fait contraire aux vraisemblances exégétiques."

excursus we find that the question of the identity of the Marys has been carefully examined and that the author has no hesitation in accepting the conclusions of Fathers Knabenbauer and Lagrange.[1] What is more, he lays stress upon a very important element in the inquiry which in the past has either been strangely neglected or most unjustifiably misrepresented. In accord with Lagrange and with the results of a very thorough investigation undertaken by Father Holzmeister, S.J.,[2] Père Prat denies that there is any trace of an early patristic tradition identifying as one person the three holy women whom the Gospels present as distinct. The Fathers, before the time of St. Gregory the Great, though recognising the possibility that Mary Magdalen, for example, might be identical with the unnamed sinner of Luke vii or with Mary of Bethany, speak in terms that are hesitating and uncertain. They never hint that anything had been handed down to them which so decided the question as a historical fact that no room was left for speculation.

It is, I venture to think, the failure to apprehend this attitude of the early Christian writers which has allowed so many of the commentators of our own generation to take the identity of the Marys for granted. "We have here the tradition of the Church," they say in effect, "and that settles the matter." But where does this "tradition" start? If it had its origin in a general consensus of the Fathers which can be traced back to apostolic times, well and good. But if it started with St. Gregory the Great more than five hundred years after the Ascension of Our Lord, that is a very different proposition. In point of fact, as Father Holzmeister has laboriously shown, there is no unanimity to be found in the patristic references to St. Mary Magdalen. Unfortunately a very one-sided presentment of the case by the Sulpician, M. Faillon,

[1] F. Prat, *Jésus Christ; sa Vie, sa Doctrine et son Oeuvre* (Beauchesne, 1933), Vol. II, pp. 501-504; and *cf.* I, p. 306, and II, p. 24. A similar conclusion has been arrived at by Sickenberger in the *Biblische Zeitschrift*, Paderborn, 1925, pp. 63-74.

[2] See *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie*, 1922, pp. 402-422, and 556-584.

first published in 1848, was acclaimed by the Catholics of France, eager to welcome any vindication of the legends of the Sainte Baume, as a work of profound erudition.[1] M. Faillon, after a painstaking but uncritical examination of patristic literature, concluded with the aid of a formidable array of citations that, in the opinion of the Fathers both of the East and the West, Mary Magdalen was identical with the sister of Lazarus and with the peccatrix. Later scholars were content to take the existence of this alleged primitive tradition for a demonstrated fact. Thus Père Didon, O.P., the famous Conférencier of Notre Dame, after paying a tribute to the "*travail si consciencieux de M. Faillon*," tells his readers that among the doctors of the Church the tradition of one Mary Magdalen, sinner as well as saint, "is characterized by every mark which guarantees genuineness in such cases. It is ancient, universal and perpetuated among Greeks and Latins alike."[2] Let me set beside this the recent pronouncement of his Dominican confrère, Père Lagrange:

"With regard to this question of the unity or plurality of the Marys there is nothing in patristic literature which deserves to be called an exegetical tradition. The Fathers are not agreed, and hardly one of them speaks very positively. What is strangest of all, there is not one, not a single one, who appeals to any personal recollections which had been handed down. As the problem began to be discussed quite early, the only reason why recourse was not had to this decisive argument was because nobody knew anything. So far, therefore, as concerns the Fathers of the Church, an historical tradition and an exegetical tradition are equally lacking."[3]

[1] *Monuments inédits sur l'Apostolat de Sainte Marie Madeleine en Provence*, 2 vols., 4°. The Abbé Brierre's new book, mentioned above, amounts to little more than a résumé of Faillon's work and completely ignores the shattering criticism to which it has been subjected in recent years.

[2] Didon, *Jésus Christ* (1891), Vol. II, 443, Appendix T. This Life of Our Lord has gone through innumerable editions in French and has been translated into English and most European languages.

[3] *Revue Biblique*, 1912, pp. 529-530.

It does not need any exhaustive research to satisfy oneself of the justice of Père Lagrange's appreciation of the patristic evidence. Among the Greeks it is admitted that such widely recognised authorities as Origen, Chrysostom and Theophylact are opposed to the identification of the three holy women in question.[1] But even such influential Latin Fathers as Saints Ambrose, Jerome and Augustine, to whom the traditionalists often appeal, render the identity thesis no real support. St. Ambrose, as Corluy contends, assumes that the unctions of Matt. xxvi, 7 and Luke vii, 37 were the act of the same loving hand, but he is in no way positive. Noting that in one case the feet and in the other the head was anointed, he adds : " It is possible, therefore, that it was not the same woman."[2] But this presumption as to the absence of any exact knowledge is greatly strengthened when we find the holy doctor, perplexed by the Gospel narratives of the Resurrection morning, suggesting in all seriousness that there may have been more than one person known as Mary Magdalen.[3]

Similarly St. Jerome in his preface to the Prophet Osee[4] does not hesitate to identify the penitent sinner in the house of Simon the pharisee with the woman at Bethany whose action provoked the disciples to protest against the waste of costly ointment. On the other hand, in his commentary on St. Matthew, Jerome expressly cautions us against supposing that it was the same woman who anointed Our Lord's feet in the house of the Pharisee[5] and His head in the house of Simon the leper, suggesting in plain terms that it would have been unfitting for so

[1] See, for example, even Corluy's excursus in his *Commentarius in Evangelium Joannis* (1889), p. 310. Corluy argues for the identity.

[2] Migne, P. L., XV, 1672 (*In Lucam*, lib. VI).

[3] Migne, P. L., XV, 1842 (*In Lucam*, lib. X) : " Nescit una Maria Magdalene secundum Joannem (XX, 15) : scit altera Maria Magdalene secundum Matthaeum (XXVIII, 9) ; nam eadem et ante scire et postea nescire non potuit. Ergo si plures Mariae, plures fortasse etiam Magdalenae, cum illud personae nomen sit, hoc locorum."

[4] Migne, P. L., XXV, 817-8.

[5] Migne, P. L., XXVI, 191.

public a sinner to be allowed to touch His head. It may be true that in the latter passage the great biblical scholar was influenced by Origen,[1] but it is clear that a writer who so lightly shifts his ground cannot have been aware of any reliable tradition which settled the matter. At the same time, if any such tradition had existed, who was in a better position to hear of it than St. Jerome? He lived at Bethlehem, he had studied in Rome, and he was in communication with the foremost Christian teachers of both East and West.

Neither is any greater satisfaction to be obtained from a study of the works of St. Augustine. He seems to have propounded different views at different times, but in one place he clearly expresses a doubt whether it really was the sister of Lazarus who washed Our Lord's feet with her tears and wiped them with her hair. But what impresses me perhaps most of all is the fact that there does not appear to be in all this Father's writings a single passage in which he identifies Mary who was called Magdalen with the Mary of Bethany or with the other woman unnamed who anointed His feet at the supper table. In several Easter sermons St. Augustine speaks of Mary Magdalen at considerable length, but he does not take advantage of the opportunity to refer to her earlier history. This is surprising if he really identified her with Mary of Bethany or with the peccatrix.[2] Again and again he deals with the difficulty created by the words "Touch me not," but never once does he suggest that the same hands had already touched Him as He reclined at table and had met with no reproof. For anyone who reads attentively the Sermons, the *De Consensu Evangelistarum*,

[1] Migne, P. L., XXIII, 1123 and 1130.

[2] An apparent exception occurs in one of the new sermons of St. Augustine discovered by Dom Morin and edited by him in 1917 (p. 124, l. 211). I had noticed this before I read Fr. Holzmeister's articles, and had concluded that in mentioning Mary (Magdalen) here, there was no idea in the Saint's mind of identifying her with Mary, the sister of Martha, of whom he had previously been speaking. Fr. Holzmeister quotes (p. 575) a private letter from Dom Morin which for reasons assigned fully endorses this view.

and the Commentary on St. John's Gospel, it would be difficult to number St. Augustine among the upholders of the alleged tradition.

Finally, and this is a point of great significance, the Greek and, speaking generally, the other Oriental Churches do not in their liturgical books identify St. Mary Magdalen with Mary of Bethany or with the sinner. All three are separately honoured. This is clearly shown in the Menaea, in the Synaxary of Constantinople, and again in the Ethiopian Synaxary.[1] If there had been any primitive belief that these were only three designations of one and the same person, this could hardly have happened. There are few traces in the East of a critical revision of legends popularly current. If these holy women are commemorated as different persons now, we may be fairly sure that there was never a time when they were looked upon as one.

Naturally the unity thesis, which it is so difficult to defend upon exegetical or patristic grounds, does not become more persuasive when we tack on to it the preposterous legends of Mary Magdalen's apostolate in Provence. But it is all-important to notice that if anyone bases his adherence to the generally accepted view of a single personality simply on the liturgy and the *sensus fidelium*, then these same arguments hold good to prove that Lazarus, Mary and Martha all came to France, worked, died and were buried there. In the Breviary lessons for St. Martha's day (July 29th) and in the Martyrology notices of the same three Saints, as well as in that of St. Maximin, the whole story is taken for granted. Neither can anyone acquainted with the devotional literature of the last five centuries dispute the fact of a practically universal acceptance of the belief that the same penitent courtesan who had sat at Our Lord's feet at Bethany, who had stood beside the Cross with His holy Mother, and who had been the first witness of His resurrection, afterwards lived for

[1] See Martinov's *Annus Ecclesiasticus Graeco-Slavicus*, p. 183, and Budge, *The Book of the Saints of the Ethiopic Church*, pp. 597-8, 721, 1195-6.

thirty years in the Sainte Baume, near Marseilles, and is still honoured there. Even in so authoritative a work as the *Kirchenlexikon*, which is free from French influences, the editor in 1893 pronounced in favour of the voyage to Provence, basing his conclusion on the article of the Bollandist Father, Du Sollier, in the fifth July volume of the *Acta Sanctorum*.[1]

At the present time, however, I venture to say that there is not one historian or hagiographer of repute who will defend the legends associated with the Sainte Baume. Mgr. Duchesne struck a mortal blow in the article which he contributed in 1893 to the *Annales du Midi*, but since then G. de Manteyer, Dom Germain Morin and the Abbé Vacandard have developed the argument further along the lines he indicated.[1] Down to the tenth century, at the very earliest, there is no trace of a belief in the presence of St. Mary Magdalen in Provence. All the early documents which are appealed to in support of the tradition are the fabrications of a later age, while there are in existence sundry Martyrologies belonging to this precise region which by the state of their original text prove that even in the twelfth century there was not yet any real cultus of the saints of Bethany. For all that, subsequent additions and interpolations in these very manuscripts show that entries referring to this group of saints and to their connection with certain specified places were introduced at a later date. The whole cycle of myths concerning Lazarus, Mary and Martha in Provence stands on precisely the same footing with the apocryphal legends of St. Joseph

[1] It is noticeable that in *Acta Sanctorum*, October, Vol. IX, pp. 444 *seq.* (1858), Father Bossue did not disguise the dissatisfaction of himself and his colleagues with Du Sollier's treatment of the question more than a century earlier. He plainly suggests that Du Sollier had shirked a really critical investigation for fear of the storm which a rejection of the legends would provoke. How often has a similar situation arisen since then and been met by scholars with the like timid opportunism!

[2] See the excellent summary of the question, with an exhaustive bibliography, in Dom H. Leclercq's article "Lazarus," in the *Dictionnaire d'Archeologie et de Liturgie*, Vol. VIII, cc. 2044-2086.

of Arimathea and the Holy Grail in Great Britain.[1] In the case of Mary Magdalen there was a definite Eastern tradition which before 590 had even reached the ears of St. Gregory of Tours in Gaul, that her body reposed in Ephesus; while Lazarus was said to have died at Citium, in Cyprus, of which city he had become Bishop. Whatever be the truth of the matter, it is historically certain that the Emperor Leo VI, in the year 899, caused what he believed to be the sacred remains of Saints Lazarus, Mary and Martha to be brought from their resting places to Constantinople.

The Roman Breviary tells us strangely enough that Lazarus, Martha, Mary, and others were seized by the Jews and "turned adrift upon the open sea in a ship without sail or oars," but that they nevertheless drifted to the western extremity of the Mediterranean in safety. We also learn from the same source that Mary "withdrew herself to a great cave (*i.e.*, the Sainte Baume) in an exceeding high mountain, where she lived for thirty years cut off from all intercourse with men and was every day carried up by angels into the air to listen to them that dwell in heaven praising God."[2] These things are supposed to be recorded in an early form of the legend, but they do not agree with the account furnished in what the Abbé Brierre, in close dependence upon M. Faillon, regards as the more authentic life of St. Mary Magdalen, attributed by him to Rhabanus Maurus in the ninth century.[3] There is no reason to believe that the text which Faillon published as the Life by Rhabanus can claim any such authorship. It conflicts with the data furnished in a form of Martyrologium which was really the authentic work of

[1] The worthlessness of the story of the Grail from an historical point of view has been thoroughly exposed by the late Dean Armitage Robinson in his book *Two Glastonbury Legends* (1926). See also *The Month*, July, 1931, pp. 43-54.

[2] See the second nocturn lessons for the feast of St. Martha, July 29th.

[3] The supposed Rhabanus gives among other marvels a detailed account of that "horrible dragon," the "Tarasque," which St. Martha made captive with her girdle. M. Brierre (pp. 193-5) apparently accepts the whole account as historical. The "Tarasque," he says, was a crocodile which had been brought from Egypt."

that mediaeval scholar. Even Père Sicard, O.P., the most sober perhaps of the modern writers who still defend the legend of Mary Magdalen's sojourn in Provence, does not make any effort to justify Faillon's rash conclusions in this matter, and Père Sicard has also shown that the Oxford MS. of the Life was not, as Faillon supposed, unique. The Abbé Brierre seems in fact to be unconscious that anything has recently been written on the subject.

It is not easy, in this as in other similar cases, to decide very positively how the Provence legends first grew up. We only know that, in Western Christendom as well as in the East, it became a fashion during the Carolingian period to fabricate wholesale and without the least scruple hagiographical romances in the guise of biography. Probably the starting point was the fact that a certain Lazarus in the fifth century was bishop of Aix. He at a later date was identified with the Lazarus of Bethany, and was supposed to have come by sea to Marseilles. The rest of the myth no doubt developed gradually, borrowing details from other pious fictions then current. The seclusion of St. Mary Magdalen in her cave seems to have been suggested by a variant form of the story of that other legendary penitent, St. Mary of Egypt.[1] But the unreliability of the whole fiction ought, one would think, to have been demonstrated, even to mediaeval scholars, by the fact that in the thirteenth century both the Abbey of Vézelay and that of Saint-Marcellin claimed simultaneously to be in possession of the authentic remains of the saint, the *apostola apostolorum*, with whom we are here concerned. Such a controversy—and it took a very violent form—renders it not a little difficult to sympathise with Père Lacordaire's enthusiasm when, in the epilogue of his *Sainte Marie Madeleine*, he invites his readers to venerate her supposed resting place at Saint-Marcellin as "the third in rank of all the Holy Tombs in the world."

HERBERT THURSTON

[1] See *The Month*, January, 1899, pp. 75-81, and *cf.* June, 1930, pp. 543-4.

CHARLES O'CONOR OF BELANAGARE

An Irish Scholar's Education

BY CHARLES O'CONOR, S.J., M.A.

CHARLES O'CONOR of Belanagare, the well-known Irish scholar and historian, was the son of Donnchadh or Denis O'Conor, the legal owner of the O'Conor estates at Belanagare. Denis O'Conor's father, Charles, had inherited these estates from his elder brother Owen, who had taken an active part in the Williamite War on the Stuart side. The further history of these estates need not concern us here; but the fact that the O'Conor family were able to remain in possession was due to the courage and ability of a Catholic lawyer, Terence MacDonough, whose name should be better remembered to-day than it is. MacDonough was connected by marriage with the O'Rourke family, and held lands at Creevagh in the county of Sligo. Though a lawyer by profession, he had taken up arms on behalf of King James in 1689, and had commanded a small garrison at Ballymote Castle. Later in the same year he had headed a band of Connacht men, who had rashly moved northwards and who were taken prisoners on Fish Island in Lough Erne. Soon afterwards MacDonough was set free in exchange for some Williamite prisoners. In a note to his edition of the *Four Masters*, O'Donovan says that MacDonough "was the only Catholic Counsel that was admitted to the Irish bar after the violation of the conditions of Limerick," and he adds the remark: "This Terence, who is traditionally called in the country 'the great Counsellor MacDonough,' was the lawyer who saved to Donough Liath O'Conor of Belanagare a small tract of property from confiscation. A bill of discovery had been filed against this Donough by Mr. French of

French-park, under the statute I Anne, cap. 32, but MacDonough managed to reply so ably, and being supported by the interests of Lord Kingsland and Lord Taaffe, finally succeeded in restoring Donough O'Conor to about seven hundred acres of land, which descended to his son, Charles O'Conor of Belanagare, the historian."

One point in this statement of O'Donovan remains obscure. If MacDonough was so rash in his activities during the 1689 campaign, how can it have happened that he alone of all the Catholic lawyers of his day was permitted to practise at the bar after the violated Treaty of Limerick? A note which Professor O'Máille has published in his edition of Carolan's poems throws some light on the problem. Daniel Malone, a schoolmaster who travelled through the counties of Leitrim and Roscommon in the years 1827 and 1828, has a short note about Terence MacDonough which reads curiously like the more detailed information of O'Donovan, and suggests that both were drawing from a common source. According to Malone, "Tirloch McDonagh was a celebrated Lawyer, and the only Roman Catholic Lawyer who was allowed to plead at the Bar in his day (which privilege he received through the influence of Lord Kingsland and Lord Taaffe)." If Malone's information is correct, the influence of these two Catholic noblemen gave Irish Catholics their one spokesman at the Irish bar in the fateful years that saw the first systematised programme of the Penal Laws. However he had obtained the privilege, "the great Counsellor" made good use of his favoured position. For the rest of his active life (he died in 1713), MacDonough was the courageous legal champion of the Irish Catholic cause, his clients being chiefly the old Irish gentry, who were then struggling to maintain their hold on the lands of their fathers, and those Irish Catholic ecclesiastics who were menaced by the rigours of the Penal Laws. Among the former, the O'Conor and O'Rourke families were most conspicuous;

among the latter the Friars of Sligo are specially named. Owing to the loss of one eye, the "great Counsellor" was also known as "Turlough the Blind"; and he seems to have held the same place in the esteem and affections of his Catholic contemporaries as was later held by Daniel O'Connell. A poet himself and the friend of poets, he composed a stinging satire on his own brother and some other of his neighbours in Co. Sligo who had conformed to the Protestant Establishment; and he deserves the gratitude of all Irish scholars for his loyal friendship towards old, broken, poverty-stricken Roderick O'Flaherty, who outlived his patron by a few years in his home at Connemara. An Irish lament on MacDonough's death has come down to us among the songs attributed to Carolan; and his widow who survived her husband for at least a quarter of a century, put up a tomb in honour of the dead Counsellor at Ballindoon Abbey, with the following epitaph :—

> Terence McDonogh lyes within this grave,
> That says enogh; for all that's generous, brave,
> Fasecious, friendly, witty, just and good,
> In this loved name is fully understood.
> For it includes what'er we virtue call,
> And is the Hieroglyphic of them all.

Though MacDonough secured the O'Conors in their legal title to the estates of Belanagare as early as 1701, more than twenty years were to elapse before Denis O'Conor was able to take actual possession of his ancestral home. During these long years he lived in great poverty at Knockmore, in the parish of Kilmactranny, Co. Sligo, where he was the close neighbour of the great Counsellor at Creevagh. In 1706 he strengthened still further the bonds which united him to MacDonough by marrying the Counsellor's niece, Mary O'Rourke, the daughter of Captain Tiernan O'Rourke, who had left Ireland for France in the wake of the Stuarts and had been killed in 1702 at the battle of Luzara. Four years after this

marriage their first child, a son, was born to Denis and Mary, and was christened Charles (Cathal). Five sons and three daughters were later added to the family. Of the sons, Owen died young; Roger became a priest on the Continent; Matthew became parish priest of Roscommon; Daniel was an officer in the French army whilst Hugh, the youngest son, became a Protestant in later life, with a view to securing possession of the family estates, but was finally reconciled to the Catholic Church.

Charles O'Conor's childhood at Kilmactranny was spent in the midst of storied surroundings. Hardly a corner of the country about him but was associated with historic memories. The great plain of Moytura in particular, which lies in the parish of Kilmactranny, was a gold mine of romance. Here in prehistoric ages, according to the old legends, the men of Ireland had fought against the Fomorians; and Balor of the Evil Eye had met his death here at the hands of Lugh Lamhfada. The field of battle and the graves of the great warrior-giants are still pointed out to the stranger: their sites are marked by great boulders in the plain. Nor did these memories of battle exhaust the interests of the neighbourhood. The whole district was spotted with cromlechs or "Druid's Altars," as the people call them. Many of these are still to be seen; but according to O'Donovan those that survive are but a small proportion of those in existence two or three centuries ago. And there are also Christian remains in the neighbourhood—holy wells and ruined churches, about which folk-tales innumerable are told. The very name of Kilmactranny enshrines the memory of a sacred past; and in Charles O'Conor's day there were still to be seen the ruins of an old church, called Teampull Chill 'ac Treanuigh, which was supposed to have been built by St. Macatranny.

To-day the Irish language is spoken by no more than a few survivors of an old tradition in the country round Kilmactranny; but in Charles O'Conor's generation Irish

was still the language spoken universally by the people. O'Donovan notes in his *Ordnance Survey Letters :* " This is a very Irish country ; but the natives all speak English, and the rising generation are beginning to forget their Irish." What seems to us the typical old-time life was in O'Conor's day the life of his own family and of all his neighbours. In the foreground of the picture stands the boy's own father, Donough or Denis O'Conor. The memory of this worthy man still lives in the traditions of the people and in the songs of Turlough O'Carolan. To his neighbours he was known as " Donnchadh liath " —and tradition ascribes the name to the cares and anxieties which aged Charles O'Conor's father before his time. His son was devoted to his memory, and the following passage from the *Memoirs* of Dr. Charles O'Conor, the grandson of Charles O'Conor of Belanagare, has the value of a direct testimony, for the writer has the tradition from the lips of his grandfather, Donnchadh Liath's eldest son :—

> He frequently told me, even when memory had resigned its tenaciousness to his 80th year, that his excellent father often took him up in his arms when a child, and said to him with uncommon emotion in Irish : ' My child, be always prepared for poverty, & then you will never become guilty to avoid it.' He mentioned to me also that, after the total defeat of the Irish armies, his father was obliged to plough his own fields, & that he would often say to his sons : ' Boys, you must not be impudent to the poor ; I am the son of a gentleman, but ye are the children of a ploughman.'

Denis O'Conor's house at Kilmactranny, and later at Belanagare, was always open to those of his neighbours who had been faithful to the Irish Catholic cause. As the same Dr. O'Conor puts it, his house was " a general rendezvous of a number of unfortunate ladies and gentlemen who once lived in splendour and honour." Among them the most conspicuous was the brother of Denis O'Conor's wife, Dr. Thaddeus O'Rourke, the Bishop of Killala from 1707 to his death in 1734. He had entered the Franciscan Order in Ireland, and had spent some

time in the friary of Millick, but was then sent abroad to complete his ecclesiastical education. For a time he was at the imperial court in Vienna, where he gained the notice of Prince Eugene, under whom his father, Captain Tiernan O'Rourke, had served. There must have been many attractive prospects for a brilliant young Irish Franciscan in the Austria of those days; but the Irish mission at home was in sore need of zealous missionaries, and a member of the O'Rourke family was in a position to render immense services to the persecuted Catholics of the West of Ireland. Thus it came about that Father Thaddeus was selected by Propaganda in February 1707 to be the new Bishop of Killala, a see which had been vacant for several years. The Bishop carried letters of recommendation from the Austrian Emperor to Queen Anne, and was granted the favour of a personal audience by that sovereign in London. But Austrian letters of recommendation counted for little with the English magistrates and officers in Connacht, and Bishop Thaddeus had to go into hiding immediately after his arrival in Sligo. He was consecrated Bishop of Killala on 24 August, 1707 by Patrick Donnelly, then Bishop of Raphoe, and for the next thirty years he was the devoted pastor of his fellow-countrymen. His name figures constantly in the government records of the period, usually in connection with his kinsman, Bishop MacDermott of Elphin. Early in 1713 the Protestant Archbishop of Tuam reports to Dublin Castle as follows :—

> As to the rest of the chief popish missionaries I can positively tell Your Grace by no worse authors than their own Clergie, they are Dr. Dermot, in Irish Mac Diermud, Titular Bishop of Elphin, residing in the County of Roscommon and commonly about Clonmacnose, where he generally and constantly ordains priests, some when found capable actually to succeed in the mission in this kingdom, others to be sent into seminaries abroad, in France, etc. The next is Timothy Ruork, formerly a Franciscan friar of the Convent of Milick near Banahir in the County of Galway, now Titular Bishop of Killalagh, and goeing under the name of

Mr. Fielding. His chief residence, when he travells to the Counties of Mayo and Slygo to officiate in these parts, is at Counsellor Terence McDonogh whose wife is the gentleman's relative, but he is very zealous to keep about the Convent of Milick as much as possible, where he generally ordains priests.

The Archbishop then goes on to detail Bishop O'Rourke's movements in Co. Mayo, where he usually is to be found " at Mr. Francis Burke vicar generall of the Diocese of Tuam at Knockaneataguill near Tuam " ; and he further reports that these two " titular " Bishops of Elphin and Killala have recently consecrated Doctor Ambrose Maddin " Titular Bishop of Cluonfort." Evidently Dr. O'Rourke's least movements were known to the government spies ; but his arrest was never effected. On Counsellor MacDonough's death in 1713, it was natural that Denis O'Conor's house should become the Bishop's shelter in the neighbourhood. But he does not seem to have taken up his permanent residence with the O'Conor family until the summer of 1717, for Charles O'Conor notes in one of his early diaries that *an Geraltach* came to Knockmore on August 23, 1717. This is the name by which the Bishop is always to be recognised in O'Conor's diaries, and its use might puzzle an unwary reader. In the *Memoirs* of Dr. O'Conor, written some hundred years later, this use of the FitzGerald name as a disguise is formally attested : " On his arrival in his Diocese he was dogged as a popish spy ; obliged to change his name to that of Fitzgerald, to skulk some years in the bogs of the Joyce country, and finally to abscond among his relatives in the house of Belanagare, from which he dated his letters to his clergy—*Ex loco nostri Refugii*, from our asylum."

Another guest whose name was held in high honour in the O'Conor household during these years was the blind poet and harper, Turlough O'Carolan. The traditions as to O'Carolan's early years are uncertain, but it seems probable that his family had once held land in Co. Meath, near Nobber, and had been ruined by the

same wars which had brought disaster to the O'Conor family. As a boy he had left Meath for the West, and had found a home with the MacDermotts of Alderford in Co. Roscommon. Mrs. MacDermott had the young boy educated with her own children, but an attack of smallpox left him blind for life, apparently from about the age of eighteen or twenty. Henceforth O'Carolan took to the roads as a harper and bard, and for close on half a century he and his friend Cathaoir MacCabe, a poet whose gifts seem to have been at least the equal of O'Carolan's, were to be found as the guests of honour in all the great houses of the West. O'Carolan's poems have preserved the memory of many of his hosts, and it is noteworthy that their names are taken from among such English gentry as the Staffords of Boyle and the Peytons of Lisduff as well as from the old Irish houses of MacDermot and O'Conor and O'Rourke. Indeed O'Carolan's poetry, with its songs of gaiety and sadness, its dirges and its drinking-songs, reflects amazingly little of the bitterness which we associate with the Ireland of the penal days. No doubt the poet had to suit his songs to his patrons, and there is one flash—in a song to O'Conor Faly—which suggests the underlying feeling of the old Irish: the Cootes of Cootehill (a family with memories that were more bitter than most) are selling their lands, thank God, and the O'Conors are buying them. That is all, and we must guess at the rest of the story. But there is a story in Dr. O'Conor's *Memoirs*, which is in keeping with Professor O'Máille's observation, that O'Carolan is as a rule at his best when he is singing the praises of an old Irish family. "I think," said O'Carolan one day at Belanagare, "that when I am among the O'Conors, the harp has the old sound in it." "No," said MacCabe, who was present, "but your soul has the old madness in it."

Denis O'Conor was not the man to let his children grow to manhood without the advantages of such educa-

tion as he could afford to give them. The times were hard, it is true; and were we to judge solely by the letter of the English-made laws of the period, education could only be had in Ireland at the cost of a surrender in the matter of religion. One law enacted that "whatever person of the popish religion shall publicly teach school or instruct youth in learning in any private house in this realm, or be entertained to instruct youth by any Protestant schoolmaster, he shall be esteemed a popish regular clergyman and persecuted as such." And the penalties thus indicated are set forth in an earlier Act of King William's reign: "All popish Archibishops, Bishops, Vicars General, Deans, Jesuits, Monks, Friars, and all other regular popish clergy, and all papists exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction, are ordered to depart out of the kingdom before May 1, 1698, and if any of them shall be at any time after that date within the kingdom, he shall suffer imprisonment without bail till he shall be transported beyond the seas; and if any person so transported return again into this kingdom, he shall be guilty of high treason, and shall for his offence be adjudged a traitor, and shall suffer, lose and forfeit as in case of high treason." Such was the rigour of the law. But Kilmactranny was far away from Dublin, and Charles O'Conor's diaries as well as the traditions of his family give proof in plenty that the law was far from being administered in all its rigour so far West.

True, the priest-hunter made his way to Kilmactranny as to every other parish in Ireland, and we can still read the record of his activities in the neighbourhood. In October 1712, two years after the birth of Charles O'Conor, one William Burke, being duly sworn, deposed that "he heard one Denis McDermot celebrate mass in the parish of Kilmactrany in this county (of Sligo). He saw one Garrett Cullinan a friar preacher at Gunervaugh (? Creevagh) in the parish of Kill mc Treany aforesaid, and this Deponent also saith that he saw one Gallagher

an itinerant friar at Lorga in the parish of Ballysumehan; he did also see one Thomas Rutlidge a friar, and heard him celebrate mass at Lurga." And so the deposition goes on, adding name to name and place to place. But in practice the magistrate's execution lagged behind the zeal of the informer; and in any case it was not so easy to enforce the law against a whole people. "No priest yet brought in" is the blunt confession of the Sligo magistrates in their report to Dublin Castle, dated Dec. 12, 1712. And two years later the Mayor of Sligo admits officially: "The Papists are so numerous in this county, that without the assistance of the army there is no good to be done." Twenty years later (1731) the official "Report on the State of Popery" has a similar story to tell. "Most of the parishes have their mass-houses or places appointed for popish worship," so the report runs; but of Kilmactranny and one or two villages in the neighbourhood the entry is: "No masshouses but hutts." And the same report speaks of "thirty-two schools taught by papists" in the one diocese of Tuam, in some of which Latin and Philosophy are taught; and in more general terms: "Many papists moreover kept Tutors in their houses, who privately taught not only the youth of the family, but others of the neighbourhood who reported to them, there being scarce a papist who would send his child to a Protestant school even to learn his grammar or so much as to read."

Charles O'Conor's diaries, which he kept in Irish from the age of eighteen, but with frequent entries as to events which had happened in the family during his childhood, give accurate information as to the names of the schoolmasters whose classes he attended between the years 1717 and 1723. According to these diaries, his first lessons in Latin were received from Seumas mac Glaodhmuind at 'Cairig na gCríop in Craoibheach.' There is nothing here to suggest that this master was either a priest or a religious. O'Conor's grandson, who was

in possession of these same diaries and who could also draw on the oral traditions of his family (though he is careless and inaccurate in such details), states that " the first who put a Latin grammar into his hands was a poor friar of the convent of Crievliagh in the county of Sligo, who could scarcely speak a word of English " ; but this probably refers to some other person. For the next two years Charles O'Conor was taught by Seamus mac Glaodhmuind, first at Cairig na gCríob and then (1718) at Cluinín Aodha, where the diary notes : *mé ag déanamh preteriti.* In 1719 he was in Mac Glaodhmuind's class during the summer-months, but in autumn he began to attend the school of Proinnsias O Coirnín, where he remained from 20 Sept., 1719 to May 1720. During this time he began to read the grammar of Corderius. In 1720 he changed his school again and attended the classes of a priest, an t-Athair Muirchiortach O h-Eadhra, who taught at Cill mac Cruaich. Here he remained until June 1721, reading Ovid's *Pontica.* In 1721 he attended the classes of Andrias mac Daidhir at Clún Buidhe and began to read Erasmus. This master seems to have been a failure, for the boys of Sligo under a certain Erill O h-Eadhra broke up the school on March 12, 1722. In May of that year O'Conor went to the school of Lucas O Righny in Ath Fearnain, and was with this master until January 1723. This is the last record of any attendance at school in the young boy's diaries, but there is some ground for believing that during all these five years Seamus mac Glaodhmuind was in some way responsible for his education. In a diary which he kept during the year 1729 O'Conor notes under date Feb. 6, 1729 : *Mo mhaigistir ionmhain ar feadh chúig mbliadhan d'fhághail bháis aniu, i.e., Seamus mac Glaodhmuind.*

These frequent changes of school and schoolmaster are in themselves striking evidence of the difficulties under which the work of Irish education was carried on at this time. It was dangerous for any one master to be too

long identified with any one place, and this is probably one of the reasons why so many names occur in so short a space of time. The boy's lessons can hardly have gained from these constant interruptions, but it is surprising to note how much solid work was got through in the midst of so many difficulties. In an entry made some four years later (1728) O'Conor notes that in the year 1724 he was reading Lucan, Florus, Suetonius, and the classical authors in general ; and that in the year 1725 " he wrote out the whole of Sallust." The former entry is probably to be connected with a statement by Dr. O'Conor in his *Memoirs*, that " in 1724, when he was 14 years of age, he was put under the tuition of another clergyman, who obliged him to translate some school-books into barbarous English and Irish alternately." Dr. O'Conor, who wrote his *Memoirs* for an English-speaking Protestant public at the end of the eighteenth century, is always at pains to depreciate the value of anything his grandfather may have learned from the native Irish schools, and we may suspect that the boy's acquaintance with the classics was sound enough. Who the clergyman was to whom Dr. O'Conor here refers, is uncertain.

It was just at this time that the young boy came into contact with a member of his own family who was also a man of exceptionally wide culture—his uncle, Bishop Thaddeus O'Rourke. The boy's talents seem to have attracted the Bishop's attention from the first : here was one whom it would be well worth his while to educate in the best culture of the day. The Bishop himself had been at Vienna, and was also the inheritor of the great Irish Franciscan tradition of learning. No better guide could have been found for the young boy's studies, now that he was of an age to appreciate the Bishop's wider culture. This is how Dr. O'Conor tells the story of his influence on his young nephew's studies :—

> The Bishop obliged him to copy the most beautiful passages from the best English authors, to translate the classics into chaste

English, to compare his translation with that of those who had succeeded better than himself: to commit to memory select passages from the most approved writers, ancient and modern, and to furnish the wardrobe of the mind with a redundance of words and phrases, which he knew his judgement would select from in his maturer years. The specimens he has left of his progress in the course of two years under the eye of such a director, by his translation into English of the conspiracy of Catiline and the Jugurthine War, which he finished before he was 18 years of age, are an existing proof of his indefatigable industry, and an ambition for knowledge which could not easily be gratified, since it could not be distracted even by the unsettled situation of his father's house. Nor would the good Bishop allow him to neglect the study of the Irish language; one day when he had succeeded very happily in describing to a friend in Vienna the miseries of the old Irish, a task pointed out to him by the Bishop, he told him he would never more write in Irish, since he had succeeded so well in English. No, said the other, what you have once learned you must never forget, and you shall not go to rest until you translate the psalm *Miserere* into Irish. He complied, and his translation is superior to Bedel's and to any I ever saw. Carolan who was present when it was read by the Bishop, and who with all his faults was at all times very devout, burst into a flood of tears on hearing it read in a solemn and affecting voice, and it was on this occasion that taking his harp in a fit of rapturous affection for the family of Belanagare, he swept along the strings in a sudden fit his *Donagha Cahill Oig*, singing extempore the fall of the Milesian race, the hospitality of old Denis O'Conor, and his greatness of soul, which in the midst of crosses and calamities harboured that very night in his house a crowd of reduced gentlemen, and hired a number of harpers to strike up a solemn concert at midnight mass (for it was Christmas Eve) and a dancing master, a fencing master, and an Irish master for the instruction and polite education of his children.

It was thus that Mr. O'Conor imbibed from his infancy that enthusiastic patriotism which is so conspicuous in all his writings, as well as that partiality for the harp, which, in memory of old Carolan, he retained to the day of his death. He touched some of the old airs on it with an originality which reflected in the most affecting manner the sensibility of his own soul.

Dr. O'Conor is not a very reliable authority, and his account of this Christmas Eve festivity has no doubt been

coloured by his romantic imagination. But there is independent evidence to confirm the main substance of his statement. Among O'Carolan's extant poems are two in honour of Donnchadh Liath, Charles O'Conor's father. One is of little interest; but the longer of the two is apparently the song to which Dr. O'Conor here alludes. And one of the eighteenth-century MSS. in which it is preserved has the following note: "For this gentleman (Donnchadh liath O Conchobhair) on Christmas Day, 1723, Carolan composed and sung to his harp the song beginning *Go madh slán beó bliadhnach*, in praise of his generous host: and here also he composed for the lady of that gentleman his song beginning: *Is mian liom trácht an uair-se air Mally na ráite suairce*." This same date, Christmas Day 1723, is given by Dr. O'Conor in his *Biblioteca Stowensis*; and the date must rest on some definite oral tradition. But the scene of the Christmas gathering must be placed at Kilmactranny, not at Belanagare, if the date is correct; for Charles O'Conor's diaries show that the family did not move to Belanagare until the summer of 1726 and that the first winter they spent there was the winter of 1727, when young Charles himself had just gone up to Dublin.

A memorial of O'Carolan's friendship with the O'Conor family has been preserved among the mass of O'Conor's papers and MSS. A few leaves, which seem once to have been bound together as a sort of improvised book, have survived through all these years; and on the last of them the proud owner describes himself in what is now very faded ink as "I Charlis o Connor of Balinagare owner of this book Gentleman in ye County of Roscommon & barony of Balintuber." These few loose leaves contain some scraps of unusual interest to students of Irish literature. On one of the pages is to be found a copy of O'Carolan's famous poem on himself, written in an unknown hand; but on the margin above the text the boy has written in his best Latin: *Ad Majorem Dei Gloriam*

8 *Die Maji Ano Domini Milesimo Septingesimo vigesimo sexto.* This is apparently the earliest dated MS. of any of O'Carolan's songs; but the same little volume also contains a copy of O'Carolan's poem on O'Conor Faly, with the inscription (again in an unknown hand): *Sic Terentius o Carolan Musicus Optimus Maur: OConor Armigero.* And another of O'Conor's early notebooks contains a copy of O'Carolan's poem on the death of his wife, dated 1734. O'Carolan's harp, on which Charles O'Conor used to play the old airs, is still a treasured possession of O'Conor Don at Clonalis.

Charles O'Conor's early notebooks have also preserved for us some very interesting records of a group of Irish poets and scholars who seem to have been resident in the O'Conor household during these years at Kilmactranny. Eight poems in honour of various members of the O'Conor household are extant in these notebooks, two of them in copies made by Charles O'Conor himself, but the others in the handwriting of a scribe or poet whose identity is somewhat puzzling. The earliest in date seems to be a poem in stressed metre, beginning *Gach borrfadh*, in which the poet sings the praises of Charles O'Conor's father and mother, Donnchadh and Maire. At the end of this short piece is the note: *Scripsit Cornanus O Corrnin a°.* 1725. Closely connected with this short piece is another longer poem, written in the classical Irish style, which begins with the words *Siol Muireadhaigh*, and is an elaborate eulogy of the O'Conor family. Special mention is made in the poem of *Cathal Og mac Donnchaidh*; and there is a note in English on the outer page of the autograph copy: *The within poem was written of late at the req^st^ of Mr Charles Oge O Conor of Knockmore by Cornan Cornyn the first day of 7mber ano dni* 1726. On the same outer page of the copy there is also a quatrain of Irish verse in the same handwriting, which alludes obscurely to the writer's eyesight, and at the bottom of the quatrain there is a second English note: *To Mr Denis O Conor of Knockmore*

the above song & ye conceit of it is y^t^ ye composer wants a spectacle. Yet a fourth piece is contained in O'Conor's notebook with the same Cornan Cornin's signature, this time in Ogham characters. This last piece, which is undated, begins *Donnchadh mhac Cathuil óig*, and mentions almost all the known members of the O'Conor household : Denis himself, his sons Charles, Matthew, Owen and Roger, a " Miss Molly " (who seems to have been a married daughter, since her husband is mentioned) and a second daughter Maud. At the end of this piece is another note in English : *The above songs composed towards the family of Knockmore viz. Mr. Denis O Conor his lady and children by y^e^ within poem writter.* This curious idiom seems to allude to the poet's signature, which is here written in Ogham characters. So queer a mixture of Irish learning and broken English gives us a glimpse into the transitional culture of a home in which both languages were apparently in common use.

All the pieces hitherto mentioned can be assigned to a single poet, Cornan O'Coirnin, whose autograph copies are here extant among Charles O'Conor's youthful treasures. But the problem of the poet's identity is complicated by the fact that yet a fifth poem, in the same handwriting as the others, has come down to us in praise of Bishop Tadhg O'Rourke, young O'Conor's uncle. This poem, which begins with the words *Maith do chodhnach, a Chill Eala,* is apparently the work of the same Cornan O'Coirnin ; but a second copy has been preserved in O'Conor's own handwriting, and in this second copy the author is styled *An t-Athair Páttraic O Corrnin.* Are we to identify the bearers of these two names as a single person ? The identification is by no means impossible, as Cornan may perhaps have been a friar with a name in religion (Father Patrick) as well as his own true name (Cornan). But there is no proof of the identity, and it is possible that two poets of the same family were resident at this time in the O'Conor house-

hold. For *An t-Athair Páttraic* is named by Charles O'Conor as the author of another piece, beginning *Togha teaghlaigh*, in which he sings the praises of all who were members of the Belanagare household in the year 1734. In this poem Tadhg O'Rourke, the Bishop of Killala, is mentioned first in the place of honour; then Denis O'Conor, his son Charles, and three ladies of the household, Elinor O'Rourke (the Bishop's aunt and widow of Terence MacDonough, the great Counsellor), Isabel MacDonogh (the widow of Captain Tiernan O'Rourke, and thus Charles O'Conor's grandmother) and Mary O'Rourke, the wife of Denis O'Conor. This is perhaps the most elaborate poem of the whole group, and Dr. Douglas Hyde has printed an interesting English verse-translation of it in his *Literary History of Ireland*. The poet is evidently much concerned to maintain the old classical traditions of Irish metre, and the title of the poem in O'Conor's copy names the author as "the last *file* of the Gael" (*tiughfhile na nGaodhal*). This same Father Patrick O'Coirnín is also apparently the author of two other pieces from the same collection: a poem in the classical Irish metres, beginning *Tréig do mheirtne, a Bhaile an Dúin*, in which the poet sings the praises of the MacDonogh family and consoles the lady Isabel MacDonogh for the loss of her husband and the misfortunes of her family. This poem is signed with the initials *P.C.*, and a short verse in stressed metre, addressed to the same lady Isabel, is stated to be the work of "the same man."

This group of eight poems, whatever conclusion may be reached as to the identity of the writers, brings us into the heart of the Irish literary tradition as it still survived in Connacht at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Dr. Charles O'Conor, the author of the *Biblioteca Stowensis* and the grandson of the Charles O'Conor who had treasured these pieces for so long, has two notes on the poets we have named which add little to our knowledge.

According to Dr. O'Conor the O'Coirnin who wrote the poem in praise of the Belanagare household was the family poet of the O'Conors at this time; and in a second note he refers to "O'Curnan" (presumably Cornan O'Coirnín) as "one of the best surviving scholars of the reign of Queen Anne." Evidently the O'Coirnín family, which was one of the old Irish literary families, had remained true to its traditions; and it seems probable that the poet (or poets) whom we have named were not the sole upholders of the family tradition at this time. In another of Charles O'Conor's early notebooks there are two transcripts of older Irish poems, written in a hand very similar to the handwriting of Cornan, but with the signature: *Cornán óg O Coirnin.* Is this yet another member of the same family? And are we to add to the list that Proinnsias O Coirnín whom Charles O'Conor mentions in his diary as one of his earliest teachers in the neighbourhood of Kilmactranny?

Another Irish scholar was living in the O'Conor household at this time, whose influence on the young boy's education seems to have been of permanent importance. In the *Memoirs* of Dr. O'Conor we are told that the young boy, now under the tuition of his uncle the Bishop, "spent some years in the manner which I mentioned, translating some of the Classics into English and Irish, and becoming a great proficient in the latter by the instructions of Father Dignan." Dr. O'Conor has nothing further to say about this priest; but the boy's early notebooks contain more than one memorial of this scholarly tutor. The earliest of all his literary treasures seems to have been the text of an Irish homily on the Blessed Virgin, written in full by Dominic O'Duigenan, who signs his name at the end with the note that he has completed this copy on March 3, 1724. Young Charles O'Conor, who was then only a boy of fourteen, has added a note of his own in a very immature Irish script, telling the reader that Dominic O'Duigenan has copied this for him in the

year of the world 5684 and the year of Our Lord 1724. In the following year the same Dominic O'Duigenan copied for his young pupil the text of an old Irish poem, of which the last few pages only survive, with a note by O'Conor at the end in an Irish script (which has become noticeably better in the twelve months) saying that Dominic O'Duigenan copied this for him in the year 1725 at Kilmactranny, *i.e.*, at Knockmore. And about this date O'Duigenan began yet a third text for his pupil—this time a full text of the " Contention of the Bards " in his own handwriting. It is possible, however, that this text is even earlier than the two preceding texts, though it bears no date. At the end of the copy Charles O'Conor has written in a very childish English hand : " This Book is mine as you may see." And on an earlier page of the same MS. he has written in large, childish Irish script : *As follus gb. le Cathal o Conar. an lebhar so.*

It will be noticed that Dominic O'Duigenan himself never signs his name in such a way as to indicate that he is a priest ; and young O'Conor's notes never refer to him by any priestly title. This fact suggests that Dr. O'Conor is here, as in many other passages of his *Memoirs,* relying on a very inaccurate memory. In any case it is plain that this Dominic O'Duigenan must have been a member of the well-known family of the O'Duigenans who were for centuries the historians of the MacDermot family. And Dominic seems to have had more than the traditions of his family in his possession. Among Charles O'Conor's most treasured manuscripts, which later were brought to Stowe by his grandson and which have finally made their way back to the library of the Royal Irish Academy, are two large volumes in the handwriting of David O'Duigenan, a well-known scribe of the seventeenth century, whose work for Irish learning has recently been recalled by Father Paul Walsh. One of these is a text of *Leabhar Gabhála* ; and the other is the Book of the O'Duigenans, a miscellany of Irish prose and verse,

copied out laboriously by David O'Duigenan in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. Charles O'Conor owned both these MSS. in later life, and has made marginal notes in both of them. It seems natural to suppose that he acquired them from his old tutor, Dominic O'Duigenan; and this guess is confirmed by the evidence of two other old MSS. later in O'Conor's possession. One of these is a vellum copy of the *Dinseanchus*, which has some notes in Dominic O'Duigenan's handwriting and his signature at the end of the volume; and on one of the folios there is a note, apparently in young Charles O'Conor's handwriting: *Anno Domini MVCCXXVII.* The other is a vellum text of an unpublished *Annals of Connacht*, of which Charles O'Conor made much use all through his life, constantly quoting it as a very valuable source of early Irish history. On one of the folios of this manuscript is a note in very faded ink: *Dominick Digginan his old . . book . . . . . God* 1727. Apparently these two ancient Irish MSS. are to be counted as relics of the days when young Charles O'Conor was being first introduced to the traditions of ancient Irish learning by his friend and tutor, Dominic O'Duigenan.

Later in life Charles O'Conor was to astonish his contemporaries by the breadth of his culture and his familiarity with the literary and historical traditions of Ireland. His own reading as a student of Irish antiquities must have counted for much in the long years of preparation; but the evidence of his early diaries and notebooks is proof enough that even as a boy Charles O'Conor was in touch with the best of contemporary Irish culture and scholarship. To Seamus MacGlaodhmuind and his fellow-teachers, to blind Carolan and Cathaoir MacCaba, to Cornan O'Coirnín and Dominic O'Duigenan, as well as to his own father and his uncle, the Bishop of Killala, the young scholar owed a debt which he was to repay by a long lifetime of service in the double cause of Irish letters and Irish nationality.

CHARLES O'CONOR

CHRONICLE

I—Hermann Bahr, 1863—1934

BY PROFESSOR MARY M. MACKEN, M.A.

HERMANN BAHR is dead. After long years of arterio-sclerosis and after a severe and protracted last illness, he died at Munich of congestion of the lungs on January 15th. In the Bavarian capital he was a striking and familiar figure as he wended his way regularly, morning and evening, to one or other of the churches in his vicinity or strolled occasionally in the " Englischen Garten " or in the Liutpold park. His friend, Hans Brandenburg, in a touching and beautiful notice in the *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten* tells how, with his flowing white beard and hair and the folds of his frieze cape falling round his patriarchal figure, he looked the very model of a prophet or apostle. Many artists desired to paint him as such though I should imagine that there was little of the prophet's sternness in those darting brown eyes and broad good-humoured face. His frieze cape concealed too, in winter, a very unprophet-like Austrian tweed shooting coat and the characteristic Austrian short kneebreeches which he always wore—perhaps, as Brandenburg says, to save himself from conventional social engagements.

Readers of this periodical know Bahr from the articles that appeared on him and his work in 1926. He was a European figure, recognized as such in countries outside his own. He had contacts with North, South, East and West—a man of wide horizons. The actual bulk of his work is very great. He was journalist, playwright, diarist, novelist, critic, essayist, producing at high pressure during the last twenty years of the nineteenth century and the first twenty-five of this. Some of that work is ephemeral in character, representing, in the plays, stage successes and, in the diaries, comments on events and persons which have gone into the Limbo of the too recent past. But much will live and this is, I think, especially true of his later novels and essays. They will live by virtue of their fine form, the beautiful Austrian prose which Bahr handled more like a lover than a master and which is as caressing, as flexible and as charmingly flecked with light and shade as the land from which it comes. They will live, also, because they are of the stuff of literature—the revelation, through an artistic personality, of an epoch which, including, as it did, the rise of one dynasty and the fall of two, can hardly be said to be devoid of world significance. That epoch we now know to have been transitional. The transitional is of the very essence of its literature and its art. Bahr was a son of that transition and one of its most interesting and able exponents, to

whose importance two of the outstanding literary historians of to-day, Oskar Walzel and Josef Nadler, have testified.

Academic critics have not, as a rule, dealt too kindly with Bahr. The reason is, perhaps, not hard to seek. He was himself the very reverse of academic and he eluded them. He developed too rapidly and progressed too quickly. When he had initiated and exemplified a movement, it was for him as it were exhausted. He left it to others less agile and less eager than he, and he went on to the next before the critics had even begun to be aware that there was a next. He was also, as an artist, too receptive, absorbing too easily new ideas and reflecting too lightly every change and play of mood. He did not, perhaps, take art movements seriously enough for the critics. That may have been his Danubian Celtic complex. He used to say that he had too much of the Celt in his blood !

The same critics never troubled themselves to understand the profound change that took place in Bahr on his reverting to Catholicism, a religion which, from 1914 to his death, he practised with all the simplicity of a little child and all the earnestness and fidelity of a great man. In this connection, I may be permitted to requote a passage from his Autobiography which, I think, supplies the key to the essential unity underlying an apparent disparity in Bahr's striving :—

" I seem to myself like Saul, the son of Kis who went out to seek his father's asses and found a kingdom. For years I went in quest of asses and found no rest, until I could no longer avoid the kingdom I had not sought. The true child of my age, I gave ear to every error ; but whatsoever illusions I pursued, truth was still swifter than I ; it caught up on me again. In vain I did everything to frighten away my guardian angel ; he did not cease his pursuit. For years neither of us yielded. Every day we measured our strength one against the other. However far I tried to get from my real self, he continued to bring me ever nearer. What I did of myself was always wrong, but what was done with me was always right. My own deeds were meaningless ; it is the events of my life that give it its inner meaning. In my heart I was always aware of this sure guidance, but my defiant temper made an ill use of it. Grace was not merely bestowed on me ; it was forced upon me, and I sinned against it, in my mocking curiosity, always testing how much it would endure from me. Before the awful spectacle of God's patience I was at last brought to my knees."

Now that Hermann Bahr's eyes and ears are forever closed

and that I have not quite the same fear of intruding upon sanctities, I say that it is one of the tragedies of German literature that a man of such brilliant gifts did not earlier find spiritual anchorage. The vision and the faith which shine through the later novels and essays might then, in younger years and in one less broken by prolonged ill-health and by the catastrophic changes of the world war, have produced a classic that could be set beside those of his countryman Grillparzer.

As it is, Bahr will remain one of the most interesting, versatile and brilliant Austrian writers and thinkers; a fascinating conversationalist; the friend and companion of some of the greatest men of his time in music, art, literature and politics; the indispensable guide to and interpreter of his age and its movements. To Austrian soil he has now returned from a kindred country, his dust to mingle with that of his father and mother in Salzburg to which his thoughts ever turned, "the Baroque city of his soul."

Bahr had never feared death. It was always before his mind, not as release, for he was no coward, but as fruition and fulfilment. When it came in January last, he saw it in its true light. The one phrase: "O Glorious Resurrection," which he used in his brief intervals of consciousness in the last days and which impressed itself upon the watchers by his bedside is completely characteristic of this great affirmer. And so those of us who had the privilege of his intimacy are filled for the "joculator Domini" with a great peace. He was the believer against whose inviolable sanctuary the fiercest storms beat in vain. MARY M. MACKEN

II—Martyrdom of St. Kilian and the Grunewald Problem

BY REV. PROFESSOR JOHN SHINE, M.A.

WURZBURG, the capital of ancient Franconia, was one of the great early strongholds of Christianity in Germany. The "Apostle of the Franks" was the Irish missionary St. Kilian (Cilléne), who, with his companions Totnan and Koloman (Colmán), came to Würzburg about 686. About 688 Duke Gozbert was baptized by Kilian. The three Irish monks were martyred in 689 at the instigation of Gozbert's wife, Geilana.

In 741 St. Burckard was consecrated by St. Boniface as Bishop of Würzburg. He built many churches, amongst them one on the spot where the Irish missionaries were put to death. He had the bodies of the three martyrs placed in this church. Afterwards they were removed to the crypt of the cathedral, where they are still venerated.

The apostolate of St. Kilian not merely brought Christianity to the Franks, but marked the beginning of their cultural development. Würzburg is of central importance in the history of German art. The rule of the Prince-bishops, which lasted down to the beginning of the nineteenth century, had a continuous fostering influence on art and culture.

In architecture Würzburg exemplifies, better than any other German town, the various successive styles. The small circular chapel of St. Mary on the Marienberg, consecrated in 706 by Bishop Willibrod, is probably the oldest surviving church in Germany. Early and late Gothic, Renaissance and Baroque, are richly represented. Lastly, the Residenz, built by the greatest architect and decorated by the greatest painter of the age, remains the most beautiful palace in the world and the crowning achievement of Rococo art.

Würzburg can boast of a famous master of plastic art, Tilman Riemenschneider. This late Gothic artist, the most lyrical of German sculptors, worked in stone and wood. He carried to perfection the style of altar-piece current in Germany in the fifteenth century, fashioned in carved wood, usually with richly coloured plastic centre-piece and painted wing panels. The bust statues of St. Kilian and his two companions, now in the Neumünster church, were part of an altar-piece carved by Riemenschneider in 1506 for the high altar of the cathedral.

As the result of a recent discovery, Würzburg can now confidently also claim as its own Germany's greatest painter, and one of the greatest masters of all times, that magician of light and colour, the mysterious Grünewald. During last year a painting representing the martyrdom of St. Kilian and his two companions was discovered by Professor Knapp and was purchased, at his recommendation, for the Würzburg University Museum. He recognised in the painting the hand of Grünewald; and a minute analysis of the picture, after the process of cleaning had revealed its original beauty of colour, confirmed at every point his first intuition.

The picture is a diptych, showing in the left hand panel one executioner with raised arm holding a sword, about to strike one of the two youthful companions of Kilian. On the ground is the stretched figure of Kilian, with mitred head separated from his body. In the right hand panel the other saint is kneeling, awaiting the blow from the other assassin, who holds the sword in his left hand. An open book lies on the ground. There is a rich landscape background, with a castle on a high hill, lofty trees, expanses of water, and distant mountains.

The first obvious feature of this picture is its dependence, in very different ways, on two previous works. The first of these is an earlier picture representing the same scene, already in the Wagner Museum at Würzburg. This work is by a local Würzburg artist—called, after this picture, the Master of the story of St. Kilian. The painting is brilliant in colour, but crude in execution and not of high artistic value. It is interesting archaeologically as showing in the background a view of contemporary Würzburg, with the fortress as it was when rebuilt by Rudolf von Scherenberg, and the Church of St. Burckard with romanesque apse, as it was before this was altered to a late-Gothic style in 1494. The picture must, accordingly, have been painted about 1490. The newly-discovered picture depends on this earlier work for several details of composition. Its author must have first gone to school to this provincial and second-rate artist. The scene, rendered in the earlier picture with gruesome realism, is transformed, in the new work, into a lyrical symphony of rhythm and colour.

More subtle, but not less evident, is the dependence on Dürer's picture of the Entombment. The landscape background, instead of attempting to include local Würzburg landmarks, gives a free rendering of Dürer's ideal landscape. Many points of composition, and of treatment of drapery, also have their parallel in Dürer's picture. Stranger still, the kneeling figure in the right hand panel is strikingly similar to the figure of the kneeling St. John in Dürer's Apocalypse. All this shows clearly that the artist must have worked under the influence of the Nürnberg master. But the new Kilian picture shows a genius different from Dürer's. It is bathed in a softer light ; its rhythms are freer and more elastic ; it is less laboured, less linear and plastic, revealing a more refined pictorial sense.

This more lyrical style of painting is just what characterizes the work of Grünewald. Professor Knapp brings out, in his publication on the newly discovered picture, the striking similarities of style and technique, and the almost literal correspondences of type, between it and known works of Grünewald. The circumstantial proof that it is an early work of the master, is as strong as it could well be.

Documentary evidence is also to hand regarding this diptych, showing that it was part of a carved wood altar-piece, of which the plastic portion was by Riemenschneider.

The Grünewald problem has been one of the baffling puzzles of art-criticism. The pictures of this master rank among the most beautiful in art. His most famous work, the Isenheim Altar

at Colmar, is of overwhelming grandeur and beauty. Yet little was known of his life, and even his name was lost. The name Grünewald was an invention of the historian Sandrart. The hypothesis that he was identical with a Würzburg artist, mentioned in archives and named Mathis Gothart, was made probable by the discovery of the Lindenhardt altar-piece, in which certain figures were clearly studies of statues by Riemenschneider. The discovery of the Kilian picture makes this hypothesis certain. It shows directly his Würzburg origin. It shows that in his early career he was strongly influenced by Dürer. It enables us to trace out with tolerable clearness the chronology of his early period. Knowing the two great influences which moulded his early style—Riemenschneider and Dürer—we are no longer without a key to understanding the secret of his genius.

J. Shine

III—Recent Lives of Christ: A Survey

BY STEPHEN J. BROWN, S.J.

"Jesus Christ! No other problem arouses to-day keener, more universal, and more serious attention." These words, the opening words of Father Hilarin Felder's great work *Christ and the Critics*,[1] published ten years ago, may be written with equal truth of to-day. "Even," he continues, "if we leave out of consideration the world of Christian believers, seekers after Christ are at present found in all classes of society, of all degrees of education and in all categories of doubters. . . . Despite all appearances to the contrary, the non-believing intellectual world of to-day is thrilled by a mighty feeling of homesickness and a feverish longing for Christ." If the books that have appeared in the last ten years are a true indication of the state of the intellectual world, these words are abundantly justified.[2] For though even yet there

[1]English translation by John L. Stoddart. 2 vols., pp. 425 and 456 (Burns Oates & Washbourne).

[2]To give a single instance—last July I picked up in London a small book entitled *What I Owe to Christ*. It was printed in April 1932, and by June of the next year it had been reprinted six times. Its spirit may be judged by these words on p. 158: "That Catholic Father at Iganga and those two Sisters of the Poor could never have sustained this radiant joy right on to the end . . . unless they had known that most intimate of realities, the living Presence of Christ with them in their daily labour of love." The English translation of Papini's *Storia di Cristo* went through fourteen editions in less than two years.

appear from time to time works written in the old rationalist tradition or imbued with the new rationalism known as modernism, still the literature that centres in the Life of Christ is not only more abundant than ever, but is more than ever reverent, understanding, sincere, even when it is not wholly Catholic in its faith.

I do not intend to survey here the non-Catholic literature of the Life of Christ. The time is past when Catholics need be dependent on even such valuable works as Edersheim, Geikie, Liddon, or on their more recent emulators. For Catholic writers equally competent and more orthodox have now supplied all our needs. It is true we are not very far from the days when our one really satisfactory modern Life of Christ in English was the translated work of the Abbé Fouard (written in the eighties), *The Christ the Son of God*.[1] Then came Didon and Le Camus and a little later Huault's *The Son of Man*—all translated from the French, and Meschler's *Meditations on the Life of Christ*, which came to us from Germany.

I think I may say that the first Life of Christ on a large scale by an English writer was the great sequence of volumes published by Father Henry J. Coleridge, S.J. in the *Quarterly Series*. They were not based on the results of modern research, nor were they concerned with modern criticism, and though written in clear and cultivated style, they were somewhat dry and long drawn out. Yet they will always be valuable for their wealth of thought. Until a very recent date the only work in English, other than those mentioned above and some partial studies, chiefly devotional,[2] was a substantial and competent Life of Christ by the American Jesuit, Father Maas.

In the twentieth century Catholic literature about the Life of Christ became richer and more abundant—and also, perhaps, more critical. In the last five years, in particular, Catholic Christological literature has been greatly enriched. Within that period there have appeared in these pages reviews of several works of primary importance, as well as of other less important but most useful books. There was the Abbé Fillion's great three-volume Life[3]—" historical, critical, and apologetic "—in which the author's aim was " to expound the Life of the Lord Jesus scientifically " (Pref.

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[1]Earlier Lives were those by Veuillot, Dupanloup, de Ligny, and Rutter.

[2]One of the best of these was *Jesus the All Beautiful* edited by Father MacLeod, S.J. for an anonymous author.

[3]The translation by the Rev. T. Newton Thompson was published by Herder, 1929-31.

p. xi). Then there was Père Léonce de Grandmaison's *Jésus Christ*, the work of a life-time. Its peculiar merit, apart from the personality of the writer, was the concentration on our Lord's life, of light derived from the author's immense reading in the literature of comparative religion.[1] Père Lebreton, S.J. brought to bear on his subject the mind of a trained theologian and exigete.[2] Shortly before that Dom Leclercq, the learned archæologist and Church historian, had brought out a single-volume Life.[3] Of a wholly different type was Archbishop Goodier's *The Public Life of Our Lord*, which was received with remarkable enthusiasm in these countries. Upwards of 11,000 copies have been sold. Still more recently appeared in these pages a review of a new and able study of Christ, translated this time from the German—*Jesus Christ, His Life, His Teaching, His Work*,[4] by August Reatz, a professor at Mainz.

Beside these we must mention another apologetic work, largely concerned with modern criticism—viz., *Le Christ Jésus, son existence historique et sa divinité*,[5] by Marius Lepin, who had already published many volumes on the same and kindred subjects.[6] The Notre Dame lectures since 1929 have dealt with various aspects of Our Lord's life.[7] The lecturer was Père Pinard de la Boullaye, S.J., an authority on the science of comparative religion. There has recently been completed an apologetic work on an almost monumental scale (1,852 pages), more exhaustive even than *Christ and the Critics*—viz., *Leben Jesu-Werk*, by Mgr. Dr. A. Meyenberg. It is published at Lucerne by the firm of Räber. Another recent work, a "record of modern critical opinion regarding the sacred person of Our Lord," is *Où en est le problème de Jésus* by Père François Marie Braun, O.P. (Gabalda).

And now there lies before us for review a fresh group of books on this great subject which mankind has been studying for nearly

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[1]Two volumes of the translation have been published by Sheed and Ward; the third is expected shortly.

[2]*La Vie et l'Enseignement de Jésus Christ Notre Seigneur*. (Beauchesne, 1931).

[3]*La Vie de N.S. Jésus Christ*, pp. 330 (Bonne Presse).

[4]London: Sands; St. Louis, Herder, 1933.

[5]Paris: Bloud et Gay, 1929.

[6]One of them was translated into English under the title *Christ and the Gospel, or Jesus the Messiah and Son of God.*

[7]They have been published by Editions Spes under the titles: *Jésus et l'Histoire* (1929), *Jésus Messie* (1930), *Le Thaumaturge et le Prophète* (1931), *Jésus Fils de Dieu* (1932), *La Personne de Jésus* (1933). The 1934 lectures will be on *Jésus Lumière du Monde.*

two thousand years and has not yet exhausted. In the Preface to one of them the author, Archbishop Goodier, divides the Lives of Christ into three categories. There are first the devotional studies. Such are the well-known works of Father Frederick William Faber and a great many others. Secondly there are the "histories." To this category belong two of the books before us. To a third category belong the books which concentrate attention neither on the emotions or the spiritual benefit of the reader, nor yet on the outward circumstances and the background of the drama of Christ's earthly life, but rather on the minds and hearts of the actors in it and above all of Him who is the central figure. To this last category belongs the entire work of Archbishop Goodier.

We may consider in the first place the Archbishop's new work—*The Passion and Death of Our Lord Jesus Christ* (Burns, Oates). We possessed already many helpful works on the Passion. There was Father Galwey's *Watches of the Sacred Passion*, Father Robert Eaton's *The Man of Sorrows*, recently re-issued. There are the Meditations on the Passion written by Blessed Claude de la Colombière in 1684, but first published last year in an English translation.[1] There was an excellent little work translated from the French by Father David Gallery, S.J. and published in Dublin—*The Passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ.* There was, of course, the brilliant and eloquent work by Père Ollivier, O.P., and the beautiful study by Père Perroy, S.J., *La Montée du Calvaire*, translated under the title *The Ascent of Calvary* (New York: Kenedy, 1922). And there were many others. But I think I am correct in saying that Archbishop Goodier's work differs from them all. It is, in the first place, on a larger scale—424 pages devoted exclusively to Our Lord's part in that terrible drama, free from all discussion and controversy. The story is told as it were from within, the author seeking to penetrate ever deeper into the meaning of every word in the sacred record, and scarcely for a moment do we lose sight of the central figure in the tragedy. How the Passion reveals Christ to us, what were His thoughts and feelings—this is the main concern of the author. Archbishop Goodier's work is not merely a narrative of the Passion; it is also an interpretation, at times a highly personal interpretation, but always firmly based on a life-long study of the Gospel text. To those who know his *Public Life of Our Lord* more than enough has been said; those who do not are hereby exhorted to learn Christ in a manner that for many of them will be a revelation.

[1]Also a fine book, *Meditation on the Passion*, compiled by Father Reginald Walsh, O.P. (Burns & Oates, 1922).

Let them begin with the Archbishop's booklet *A More Excellent Way*, then pass on to *The Prince of Peace*, and perhaps to *A Crown of Sorrow*, moving by easy stages to the writer's masterpiece.

The next two works that call for notice are both by the Abbé Klein, a practised writer, author of upwards of thirty books on a great variety of themes—literary, devotional, historical, moral, including two that deal with the Gospels. He is not a specialist in exegesis nor in scriptural studies generally, and so while he brings to the work a certain freshness of mind which shows itself in these books, they are subject to certain limitations. These however are of little consequence, as the Abbé writes for the general public and not for scholars. His *Vie humaine et divine de Jésus Christ Notre Seigneur*[1] differs in one important respect from all the works hitherto mentioned, *viz.*, that its illustrations constitute its outstanding feature. And they are certainly wonderful. They number 400 and are drawn from an extraordinary variety of sources—ancient and modern paintings of all countries, sculpture, stained glass, old engravings, objects in museums, photographs, including some taken from the air. The Guiragossian photographs and those by the American colony in Jerusalem are exceptionally good. The text consists of a straightforward narrative entirely free from side issues and without footnotes or references.

An earlier book by the same author, the material of which has been largely incorporated in the new work, is *Jésus et ses Apôtres*. It has been translated into English by W. P. Baines.[2] We had already in English a much more ample work by Father Henry James Coleridge filling no less than four volumes of the *Quarterly Series* under the title *The Training of the Apostles*. The aim of the two works is sufficiently indicated by their titles. They are not systematic treatises, but consecutive narratives of Our Lord's whole life viewed from this particular standpoint.

Father Ferdinand Prat's *Jésus Christ, sa vie, sa doctrine, son œuvre* (Beauchesne, 1933, 2 vols., 80 fr.), which comes next for review, is difficult to characterize, for it is not singular or *sui generis* but only super-excellent in its class, that of *historical* lives of Our Lord. Those who are acquainted with Father Prat's standard work, *The Theology of St. Paul*, will know what qualities to expect in his new book. Father Prat is, in the first place, a master of exegesis and textual criticism. He concentrates on his

[1]Bloud et Gay, 1933. 120 francs in paper covers, 180 francs bound. The book forms a handsome quarto of 500 pages.

[2]*Jesus and His Apostles*, pp. 363 (Longmans. 1932. 10s. 6d.).

subject the results of his vast reading in the Fathers, the Catholic commentators, and a great mass of modern criticism in French, German, and English. He applies to it also his knowledge of Eastern languages and of New Testament Greek. His method is to produce a clear flowing narrative embodying just as much of description and of archaeological lore as suffices to throw light on the episode under consideration, and then to explain, justify, or illustrate this narrative by means of footnotes.[1] Whenever fuller treatment is desirable, he provides it by means of longer notes, which are often complete little treatises, at the end of the volume.

Father Prat is much more concise than Dr. Goodier—devoting, for instance, only 160 pages to the Passion as against 384 in the Archbishop's work. Also, unlike Dr. Goodier, he seldom pauses to analyse motives and emotions: he is as objective as the Evangelists themselves. On the other hand he enters much more deeply into his subject than the Abbé Klein. Where the latter, recording Christ's answer to Our Lady at Cana, is content to say,[2] " The meaning of these words is not open to doubt," Father Prat gives a careful *résumé* of the four principal interpretations put forward by various writers. Again, the innumerable difficulties presented by the Gospel narratives—which, in accordance with the aim of his books, are passed over by the Abbé—are frankly faced and dealt with by Father Prat. We cannot too highly commend this work, in which the highest scholarship is called to the aid of a reverent devotion which is manifest on every page.

S. J. Brown

[1] *E.g.*, Vol. I, p. 180, the learned note on the identification of Cana; Vol. II, p. 29, the little bibliography of the Lord's Prayer as expounded by the Fathers.

[2] *Jesus and His Apostles*, p. 10.

REVIEWS

Religion

LA CREDIBILITE DU DOGME CATHOLIQUE. By R. P. Joseph Falcon, S.M. Paris : Emmanuel Vitte. 1933. 36 fr.

Mr. Arnold Lunn, in his brilliant account of his conversion to the Catholic Church, has recently animadverted on the folly of those who think that " controversy does no good." The fact that some people remain unaffected by controversy cannot, of course, legitimise such a sweeping conclusion ; and it seems that Mr. Lunn himself, under God, owes his conversion to friendly controversy, and to an independent and sincere investigation of the intellectual grounds of Catholic belief.

The modern frontal attack on the foundations of Christianity and even of Theism makes it more and more imperative that the general public should have easy access, in their own language, to the ordinary arguments for the validity of Christian Faith. Dr. Falcon's presentation of these arguments is eminently suited to such a need. We regard his book as addressed chiefly to the educated layman, who is either groping his way towards the Faith through a mist of false philosophies, or who feels the need of some solid buttress for the Faith he already possesses against the onslaughts of modernism or rationalism. We say, to the layman ; for on the one hand Dr. Falcon's work is certainly not a mere schoolboy's text of Apologetics ; and on the other, it perhaps lacks the range and exhaustiveness of a formal theological treatise. Nevertheless, the author's erudition and the general soundness of his theses, will make his book a useful addition to the libraries of priests and theological students.

The first half of the volume is a condensation of Fundamental Theology setting forth the concept of a supernatural Divine Revelation ; its possibility ; its hypothetical necessity ; and the certainty we have, or should expect to have, of its existence. After this follows a painstaking examination of the authenticity and historicity of the Gospels, and of the claims of Jesus Christ to be the Bearer to mankind of that Divine Revelation as a body of doctrine necessary for salvation.

In this section not all readers will agree with Dr. Falcon as to the nature of the evidence and certitude required—objectively, of course—for the establishment of a Divine Revelation. The author seems content with the argument based upon a " convergence of probabilities "—which, he says, is " d'un emploi nécessaire en Apologétique comme en histoire." Is not this to reduce unwarrantably the foundations of both sciences to a sort

of " circumstantial evidence "—sufficient, indeed, to hang a man, but not by any means convertible with strict moral certainty ? Again, the author is not convincing either in his advocacy of a " natural desire of the Beatific Vision " as giving the possibility of supernatural elevation, or in his defence of that very shaky thesis, the possibility of an inculpable loss of the Faith—nor, we might add, in his attempt to reconcile this teaching with the Vatican Council.

In the positive matter of the second half of the volume, on the Church, the author is perhaps more at his ease. Two main headlines are here concerned : (1) the nature, properties and notes of the Church established by Christ ; and (2) the identity of the Catholic system with that Church. The exposition throughout is clear and straightforward, not overburdened with erudite apparatus, yet in touch with modern scholarship, especially that of the author's own native land. In this respect, indeed, his bibliographies almost suggest a tariff on foreign theology. The Patristic and Traditional argument is developed with a completeness which is most satisfactory considering the limited space at the author's disposal. In the discussion of the Petrine texts, it is rather a pity that some of the space devoted to the authenticity and historicity of Matt. xvi. 17-19—a controversy so obviously the fruit of dogmatic prejudice—was not transferred to the very brief section on its probative value. This last is what will interest ninety per cent. of the author's readers, some of whom may find it rather a far cry from the " binding and loosing " of Rabbinical theology to the strict legislative jurisdiction claimed by the Catholic Apologist.

Nevertheless, the author is to be congratulated on having produced a clear, readable and solid defence of the Catholic claims ; and what more serviceable task could be accomplished at the present day ? We wish his work the widest possible public.

P. H.

DICTIONNAIRE DE SPIRITUALITE, ASCETIQUE ET MYSTIQUE. Publié sous la direction de Marcel Viller, S.J., assisté de F. Cavallera et J. de Guibert, S.J. Fascicules I—II (Aa—Anglaise). Paris: Beauchesne. 1933. 20 fr. each.

IF the level of the first sections is maintained, this new dictionary and encyclopedia of spirituality will rank with the same publisher's *Dictionnaire Apologétique* as a magnificent work of Catholic scholarship, quite indispensable. In the first section we have contributions from forty outstanding writers on spirituality, from every order and nation, quite a Pentecostal gathering.

This promises well for the thorough treatment of the many " open questions " which mystical and ascetical theology present to the student. The thoroughness with which such questions are treated is shown by the forty-six columns devoted to *Abandon* in this fascicule, a perfect mine of information. Twenty-nine columns are devoted to *Accroisement des Vertus*, but only three columns to *Acedia*, a somewhat short measure for such an important question, which is at the root of a lot of our modern psychic troubles and complexes. But the lacuna will probably be filled up when we come to the title *Tristitia*. The historical portions are both full and novel ; nothing seems to have been overlooked.

The second fascicule, just published, maintains the high level of the first. Canon Vernet deals with German and English spirituality in a masterly and truly encyclopedic fashion. We have very interesting articles on *Américanisme* by Père de Pierrefeu, S.J., and on *Amitié* by Abbé Vansteenberghe. Among the biographical articles those on St. Alphonsus de Liguori and St. Alphonsus Rodriguez are to be noted, while mystical speculation has a most valuable contribution in the masterly article by Père Reypens, S.J., on *Ame, son fond, ses puissances et sa structure d'après les mystiques*. It is a very learned contribution to mystical studies—but very challengeable, at least so it seems to the present reviewer.

The general direction of this great work seems to be rather that of the *Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique* than of the *Vie Spirituelle* or *Etudes Carmélitaines*—rather " ascéticiste " than " mystique," as the Abbé Bremond, if he were still with us, would say ; but that is perhaps a *felix culpa*. The test of direction will come when the big speculative questions on the ultimate nature of mystical experience have to be dealt with. What a misfortune that Bremond did not live to deal with the Bossuet-Fénelon controversy !

JOHN HOWLEY

AUTEURS SPIRITUELS ET TEXTES DEVOTS DU MOYEN AGE LATIN. Par Dom A. Wilmart, O.S.B. Paris : Bloud & Gay. 1932. 80 frs.

THIS very solid volume of 624 pages is a model of what a work of pure erudition should be. The indexes alone run to over forty pages, and those notes ! Dom Wilmart devotes fifty-three pages to a study of the text of the *Adoro Te Devote*, of which nearly one-third are small print notes. If we deduct from the article the notes and some portions of the text only intelligible to experts, we get about one-half which the average man could follow. But

he would find it very interesting. The other twenty-four studies are to match. Charles Lamb would have classed this work among the *biblia abiblia.* But the writer in search of information must consult such works, and those who have to write or lecture about medieval spirituality will find Dom Wilmart priceless. He is a great and careful scholar and has done a giant's work by his researches. He has " fished the murex up " ; others will dye profitably with his material. JOHN HOWLEY

LE CHRIST SELON LA CHAIR ET LA VIE LITURGIQUE AU MOYEN-AGE. Par l'Abbé Edouard Dumoutet. Paris : Beauchesne. 1932. 36 francs.

THIS is a very charming volume, beautifully printed and illustrated, an ideal gift book for those who can read French without too much difficulty. It is learned and erudite, but most readable and full of interest for any Catholic who desires to understand the Church's liturgy. It is a very striking study of that great wave of popular devotion to the Sacred Humanity which was so marked in the Middle Ages and which had such a vast and lasting influence, not only on the private devotion of Christians, but on sacred art and on the liturgy itself. The Abbé Dumoutet studies this wonderful development in all its aspects and shows its intimate relation to the Blessed Eucharist. The writer bears his learning easily and writes very agreeably, but I think he does not fully understand St. Thomas's position with regard to the relative bearings of the Divinity and the Divine Humanity as objects of our devotion (p. 47 *et seq.*). I wonder if he has read with due care III, Q. 46 ? He should take this with the two references he gives on p. 48. St. Thomas is not an author to take piecemeal if you want to know his whole mind. But the whole question of the bearing of the Divine Humanity on the mystical contemplation of the Divinity is one of the most difficult, historically and theologically, of the *Quaestiones disputatae* of mystical theology. JOHN HOWLEY

THE ROMANTICISM OF HOLINESS. By Father James, O.M.Cap., M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt. London : Sands. 1933. 5s. net.

FATHER JAMES tells us that his book contains, with the exception of one chapter, " only words addressed at different times and in different places to the people." It is therefore not surprising that there should be a certain lack of continuity and some repetition.

This fact, however, hardly detracts from its thought-provoking appeal. The author is at some pains to define the meaning of "romanticism," which may be taken as equivalent to "poetry." He assumes that we understand the meaning of "holiness," which may be taken as equivalent to "the love of God" in its fullest sense. It is clear that holiness thus understood includes romanticism, for once we grasp the fundamental fact of all religion —that God is the Creator of all things—we see in all nature the beauty and harmony of the Divine Mind.

In these essays the subject matter is grouped chiefly around the lives and words of St. Francis of Assisi and St. Teresa of Lisieux. For these—as for all saints—romanticism is an outcome of their holiness; for true holiness leads to every beautiful and holy thought which sees in all created things, even in pain and death, the sweetly guiding love and providence of God. For them all nature reflects the beauty of God and, in the words of one who is not usually included in the list of "romantic" saints, shows forth "how God dwells in creatures: in the elements giving them being, in the plants giving them growth, in animals giving them feeling, and in men giving them understanding; and how all good things and all gifts descend from above—justice, goodness, pity, mercy—just as the rays descend from the sun and waters from the spring."

But it is clear that mere romanticism does not necessarily lead to holiness. Experience proves only too well that the love of beauty, romance, poetry are compatible with the lowest standard of moral conduct; after all, the acid test of holiness is to keep the commandments. Fr. James, of course, recognises this fact, and tells us so: "What a rationalist admires is emphatically not the supernatural in St. Francis. It is something akin to Renan's idolatry and worship of the Gospel-Figure when he had denied Christ's divinity." We must, therefore, recognise the fact that an appreciation of the romantic is not an essential element of holiness, but a gift of God, and apparently a rare gift; and the gift of being able to express it a rarer one still.

The author tells us that this book is for the "people." His use of the word is somewhat akin to Macaulay's "schoolboy"; for it is to be feared that the ordinary people, living amidst the often sordid cares and worries of life, seldom see the romantic side of their struggle for life, both temporal and eternal. As one reads this book, one cannot help feeling that the romanticism of holiness, which it expounds in so charming a manner, needs open spaces, the quiet of convent gardens and conventual cloisters,

much leisure and a well-stocked library—all of which are far removed from the bulk of the people. Yet this beautiful book achieves a valuable object. It reminds us of the need we have to develop, as far as we can, this faculty of seeing God in all things, and it helps us in no small measure to do so. H. V. G.

Biography

BONIFACE THE EIGHTH. By T. S. R. Boase. (*Makers of the Middle Ages.*) London : Constable. 1933. 15s.

MR. BOASE has written a very remarkable study of the Pope whose dramatic death in the autumn of 1303 marks the end of the mediaeval papacy. Boniface VIII had many enemies. During his lifetime he was lampooned by the Franciscan Spirituals, most bitterly and most effectually by their greatest poet, Fra Jacopone da Todi. In the last two years of his short pontificate and for many years after his death, the unscrupulous pamphleteers whom King Philip of France had in his pay did their worst in the effort to blacken his memory. A few years later, Dante's *Inferno* was given to the world, and the Pope, whose Italian policy had been responsible for Dante's exile from Florence, was held up to execration by posterity in unforgettable verses. Ever since French Gallicanism and the whole anti-papal tradition of modern heresies has consistently misrepresented the great Pope's motives, and has sought to belittle his achievement.

Mr. Boase has set himself to undo this injury, and his biography is compact with the erudition that has been amassed in the past fifty years or so by a series of distinguished continental scholars. Frankly, it is a pity that Mr. Boase has been compelled—or has deliberately chosen—to make his work a biography. The effort to concentrate all European history for ten dramatic years of intense activity into the biography of a single man must lead to strain and at times to obscurity ; and Mr. Boase, though he writes brilliantly in the modern Oxford manner, has not succeeded in making some of his chapters more than a highly condensed summary of essential details. But it is no easy thing to carry lightly the weight of learning that has gone to the making of this book, and it is ungracious to be over-critical as to the manner in which the story is presented. As compensation for those chapters which are undoubtedly over-condensed and hard to read, there are chapters at the beginning and the end of the volume which bring before us in startlingly vivid detail the man who was chosen to succeed the half-dazed hermit Pope, San Celestino, and the man

who, defying the King of France and all his new statecraft, issued the famous Bulls *Clericis Laicos* and *Unam Sanctam.*

Mr. Boase is openly in sympathy with the great administrator who strove so valiantly to establish the Papacy as supreme arbiter of Emperors and Kings in an age when national policies were already destroying the unity of European culture. And his defence of the Pope's financial policies is an instructive lesson in the truth that the state-policies of the new national monarchies were an increasing menace to the essential independence of the Church, with all that the Church stood for in the international life of mediaeval Europe. Not Boniface VIII and his successors, the Avignon Popes, but Philip the Fair and Edward of England were the true aggressors in this struggle. It is to the credit of the Pope that he stood so courageously for what was in its essence the Church's claim to independent action ; and it is significant that the great monastic institutions such as the Benedictine and Cistercian Orders were on his side, and against the King. None the less, there is here an underlying problem, inherent in the dual nature of the Catholic Church, at once human and divine. If the Popes needed money for their policies, was there not also the very real danger that in their need of money they might fall into the sin of worldly avarice ? Here is precisely the gravamen of the charges brought by such writers as Jacopone da Todi and his Franciscan brothers. The Church, they complained bitterly, was being sold for the things of this world, not for the things of Christ. And the brief tragedy of San Celestino, the hermit Pope, is all the more poignant for the sense it gives us of an uneasy fear that all is not well. Mr. Boase is here perhaps most plainly out of sympathy with his subject. For the hermit of Monte Morrone he has nothing but undisguised contempt ; and in this lack of sympathy with the general consciousness of increasing worldliness he shows his failure to grasp the true meaning of the crisis through which the Church was passing on her way to the Babylonish Captivity of Avignon. For him Boniface VIII is the great administrator, the canonist who added the Sext to the Law, a founder —as he remarks in a challenging phrase—of modern international finance. These were great achievements no doubt ; and the Pope's undoubted personal courage in the last great crisis of Anagni adds lustre to his intellectual greatness. But what of the inner life of the Church, the Spouse of Christ ?

Mr. Boase adds a final chapter, in which he deals with the evidence accumulated in the posthumous trial, organised and directed by the French King. He has no difficulty in showing that

the charges of heresy and grave personal immorality are supported by witnesses whose evidence is more than suspect ; and many of the *obiter dicta* which were quoted against the Pope's memory by men who claimed to have heard them from his lips can be explained as the rash and hasty utterances of a man who felt the strain of a great contest and who was undoubtedly lacking in self-control. None the less, there is no escaping from the conviction that Boniface, whatever his intellectual abilities, lacked the qualities that go to make a Saint ; and sanctity was needed in the ruler who should restore to Europe the sense of leadership in the Kingdom of Christ. Boniface failed here, and the Church has paid bitterly for his failure. The immediate outcome of the sacrilege at Anagni was the captivity of Avignon ; and the Popes returned to Rome three generations later, only to find that their hold on the mind and conscience of Europe had been rudely shaken. From Anagni to the Council of Constance is a long century ; and a yet longer century was still to pass before at last there came the Catholic Reform. A. G.

LE PRINCE ERRANT. Charles Edouard le Dernier des Stuarts. Par L. Dumont-Wilden. Paris : Colin. 1934. 20 fr.

SEVERAL English books dealing with the 1745 insurrection have appeared of late years. This is, we believe, the first recent one in French. The character of Prince Charles Edward appears to be enduringly interesting. This work will assuredly give him an entry into the hearts of many French readers, young and old. He is, of course, the central figure in the book. The others serve only as a background. Several are, however, vividly portrayed. One sees the hoary "trimmer," Simon Fraser, Lord Lovett, all whose clever intrigues but lead him to the scaffold in the end ; Lord George Murray, " the only one [on the Jacobite side] who was really capable of leading an army " ; the faithful Irish adherents Sheridan, O'Neill, O'Sullivan.[1] Then there are the women, Clementina Walkinshaw, Flora MacDonald and, in the end, Louise von Stolberg, the guilty but certainly sorely-tried young wife of a miserably degraded dotard.

M. Dumont-Wilden rates highly the military and political talents of the Prince. Perhaps his *possibilities* might be a more appropriate word. But yet he holds that, in listening to the advice of his officers and retreating from Derby, Charles took the only possible course. Is this really so ? The whole enterprise

[1] In my article in this issue I have given an account of these men.

was a very desperate one. Only by seemingly mad audacity could it hope to succeed. In a dash to London lay perhaps a chance. Many of the English gentry were already preparing to join the Jacobites. The mass of the people of England were little likely to fight with enthusiasm for the foreign "Elector of Hanover." One feels that a Montrose or a Dundee would have pushed on, and, forced or persuaded by his authority and his personality, even the reluctant Highland host might have followed him further on the foreign soil of England. To retreat was to abandon all hope.

It was during his months of wandering as a fugitive after Culloden that Prince Charles appears at his best. Like his grand-uncle Charles II, he shone most in adversity. In the morose, petulant, degraded being of later years it is difficult to see any trace of the kindly, ever cheerful and patient young leader whose personality exercised such a fascination over his followers that a word from him lingered ever in their memory; an object which he had touched was treasured as a relic to be handed down to their descendants.

The devotion of the Highlanders strikes M. Dumont-Wilden with admiration. A reward of £30,000 was set by the British Government on the "Pretender's" head. Many were aware of his identity, and of these several were the poorest of the poor. Yet none (save one ragged boy, of whom our author makes no mention) ever thought of betraying him. Of the humble maid-servant who at Rossinish supplied him with food, while he crouched under a rock beside a cow-house, the remark is made: "*Il eut suffi à cette fille de dire un mot pour devenir le parti le plus riche du pays. L'idée ne lui en vint même pas.*"

The descriptions of Highland scenery, and particularly that of Glenfinann with which the book concludes, are very vivid, while the account of the cowardly militia bands of Edinburgh, "peaceable soldiers who only put on their uniforms on feast days to drink King George's health," is amusing.

The worthlessness of the "Butcher" Cumberland in any campaign where the odds were not immensely in his favour might have been more accentuated.

Anyone who has read some of the letters of Prince Charles, in which he sometimes contrives to make three or four faults of spelling in a single word, will scarcely agree with M. Dumont-Wilden's statement that "he wrote English very well."

M. T. H.

PRINCE CHARLIE. By Compton Mackenzie. London : Davies. 1932. 5s. net.

BONNIE PRINCE CHARLIE. By Clennell Wilkinson. London : Harrap. 1932. 8s. 6d. net.

MR. MACKENZIE'S book is chiefly concerned with the personality of Charles Edward Stuart, although it also gives a vivid account of the 1745 insurrection. The young Prince appears, as he does in all the works which deal with his great adventure, eminently fascinating. So active and strong was he that he could "run faster, jump higher and outwrestle" even the hardy men whom he led. While his officers rode, he himself walked at the head of his troops. He was always courteous and tactful. He forbade extreme rejoicings for the victory of Preston Pans ; the slain were his own subjects. His good qualities—his patience, kindness, hopefulness—appeared, above all, during the terrible months of wandering which followed the defeat of Culloden. His less commendable traits Mr. Mackenzie minimises and keeps in the background. Few Catholics, and perhaps not very many Protestants, will regard his conduct in attending the Episcopalian Church service in Perth as "a practical example of religious toleration," but rather will hold it to be an indication of a lack of religious principles of any sort. Regarding his later action in being received into the Anglican Church in 1750, no opinion is offered. He certainly made little effort later to practise the religion which he had adopted. Our author may be quite justified in believing that there is much exaggeration in the accounts given by his political enemies of Charles Edward's drunken habits in later life. But though he was, as we have seen, exceptionally strong and healthy when a young man, he died at sixty-eight—no very great age—worn out and decrepit, having been for years an invalid. Even when in Scotland he was given to indulgence in "mountain Malaga." It seems probable that there is at least a good deal of truth in the charges made.

Mr. Clennell Wilkinson, writing more at length, can, of course, give more details. His first fifty pages tell the story of the rescue of Clementina Sobieski, the mother of Prince Charles, from her imprisonment at Innsbruck on "a wild and dirty night—the 2nd of April 1719," of her perilous journey, her marriage and her subsequent disagreements with her husband. It is, however, to the Scottish expedition, "the forlorn hope," that the greater part of the book is devoted. And here, as in Mr. Mackenzie's work, the devotion of the Highlanders and of other followers of Prince Charles fills us with admiration. Some of the latter (besides

Flora MacDonald) were women. Especially worthy of mention is the aged Mrs. Skyriny, who remembered the entrance of Charles II into London on his Restoration in 1660 ; who, since the exile of the Stuarts in 1688, had annually devoted half her income to their cause ; who came to kiss the Prince's hand at Stockport, bringing with her the proceeds of the jewellery which she had sold ; and who, a few weeks later, died of grief on receiving the news of his retreat from Derby. Folly all this may seem to our democratic age ; but yet it is entitled to the respect due to all principles for which those who hold them have dared to suffer and to die.

Our author appears to entertain a high opinion of Lord George Murray's military capacity ; yet he holds that at Falkirk he " made almost every possible tactical mistake " ; and especially he calls the decision of the Jacobite army to retire from Derby, for which Lord George was mainly responsible, the first of the " three fatal decisions of the Forty-Five." The second was taken at Glasgow, when there was a question of turning back into England, and when " the dictates of caution " again prevailed. At that time, we hear, " only sixty miles to the north, at Perth," ample reinforcements were awaiting the Prince ; Lord John Drummond had just landed with a body of Frenchmen, and the clans were rallying again—" probably four thousand men in all." The last of the " sporting chances " thrown away was after the Jacobite victory at Falkirk.

The next scene is Culloden ; then the months of wandering, so often described. Last of all come the weary years of exile, mercifully shortened by Mr. Clennell Wilkinson to a mere outline contained within a compass of some twelve pages. In the very end there is a gleam of brightness shed on the old, pettish invalid, who once was " bonnie Prince Charlie," by the filial devotion of his long-neglected daughter Charlotte, the offspring of his connection with Clementina Walkinshaw. Then, on the 31st of January 1788, the curtain falls. M. T. H.

FREDERIC OZANAM ET L'EGLISE. Par l'Abbé F. Méjecase. Paris : Vitte. 1932. 25 fr.

FREDERICK OZANAM. By Rev. Henry Hughes, B.A., D.Litt. Dublin : Browne & Nolan. 1933. 3s. 6d.

OZANAM. Par Georges Goyau. Paris : Flammarion. 1931. 12 fr.

In his study, *Frédéric Ozanam et l'Eglise catholique*, the Abbé Méjecase aims more at showing in true perspective the enormous apologetic value of Ozanam's literary and social work rather than

at giving a mere biography. As a necessary preface to such a work, the author commences with an admirable summary of the politico-religious situation in France in the first half of the nineteenth century. It is a section of fascinating interest—the interplay of philosophical, political and religious ideas being vividly shown. The body of the work is a study of Ozanam's theories on the Church's action in the progress of civilisation. The influence of Catholicity on art, on science, on education, on social organisation, on the family, and on the individual are all treated seriatim, Ozanam's views on each being synthesised from his voluminous literary work. Here, of necessity, citation is copious. Yet the author dominates well his lavish documentation, always retaining a perfectly objective standpoint, and in the concluding chapter, while vindicating Ozanam's doctrinal orthodoxy, he accurately indicates his minor defects as a historian. One is left on reading this book with a clear impression of Ozanam's vast erudition.

Fr. Hughes' little book is a readable account of some of the salient incidents in Ozanam's life. It is unfortunate that the author's studies at Pisa seem to have biassed him unduly in favour of the great Catholic actionists of Northern Italy, as they are literally forced into every chapter of the book on the strength of some very artificial parallels. For example, the fact that Ozanam may be said "practically to have ended his days in the district of Pisa" (p. 118) is made serve as an excuse for a chapter on "Ozanam and Toniolo," which gives a sketch of the life of the illustrious professor of Pisa who died in recent times. The fact that, "in 1830, Ozanam was born in the city of Milan and Manzoni also published there the most popular of his sacred hymns, 'Il Natale,'" (p. 114) gives rise to a chapter on "Ozanam and Manzoni." A life of Contarde Ferrini is introduced, as "he was baptised in S. Carlo al Corso, the same Church in which Ozanam had been christened half a century earlier" (p. 170). Cottolengo, Don Cafasso, Ludovico Necchi, Giosue Borsi—all receive more or less extensive mention. However, if at times irrelevant, the author is never dull and his work will doubtless make a popular appeal.

More solid food is Georges Goyau's *Ozanam*, one of a biographical series entitled "Les Grands Coeurs." The founder of the St. Vincent de Paul Society lives again for us in the painstaking pages of M. Goyau's charming essay. Written with a fine historical sense, the work depicts with a wealth of detail the canvas of French society of the period against which the character and per-

sonality of Ozanam are thrown out in bold relief. Nor is the narrative for a moment dull. Craftsman that he is, M. Goyau constructs his biography in chapters of sparkling vivacity. Ozanam is variously shown as a student, as a professor, as a publicist, and the author is at pains to help us realise the enormous influence of Ozanam at each stage of his life. The concluding chapters are devoted to a survey of the St. Vincent de Paul Society, in which its activity and its spirit are beautifully shown. A really charming book, and a perfect example of the matchless prose of M. Goyau.

D. Boylan

Celtica

DUANAIRE FINN. The Book of the Lays of Fionn. Part II. Irish Text, with Translation into English, by Gerard Murphy. Irish Texts Society. Vol. XXVIII. London: Simpkin Marshall. 1933. pp. xviii + 409. 25s.

The manuscript which contains *Duanaire Finn*, the Poem-Book of Fionn, is one of the most interesting and invaluable of Irish manuscripts. It is interesting, not only on account of the unusual literary worth of its contents, but also on account of the circumstances in which it was written and the many vicissitudes through which it has passed before at last being placed beyond danger of destruction. It is invaluable, because it is a vast treasure-house of Fianaigecht tradition and one of the most important sources for the study of this great cycle of Irish literature. For the student of the Irish language in the late Middle and Early Modern periods it should prove to be a happy hunting-ground.

The manuscript which contains the Duanaire has preserved for us also a good, though incomplete copy of *Agallamh na Senorach*, that other great corpus of Fian-lore. The Duanaire itself is a compilation of sixty-nine poems of the Fiana. The first half of it (thirty-five poems) was published by Dr. MacNeill in 1908, as Volume VIII of the Irish Texts Society series. Though the scribe in a note refers to the collection as Duanaire Finn (p. 74*a*), the superscription *Clar Dhunaire Find anso sios* on an unnumbered page to the original scribe's index of the poems is in the hand of a later scribe. From the fact that the scribe makes it clear that the materials came to him in instalments (p. 74*a*) and from his statement that, if he could have obtained more poems, he would have transcribed them (p. 93*a*), it would appear probable that he was not merely a copyist but actually the first to gather these poems together into a single compilation. The whole manuscript was written at Louvain in 1626 and 1627 by two scribes for

Captain Somhairle Mac Domhnaill, an Irish soldier of fortune on the Continent, who has not been further identified. The original manuscripts from which this compilation was made have been lost.

Whether Mac Domhnaill, this soldier and literary patron, ever received the work which was written for him or not, we shall probably never know. But if he did, the manuscript must have been returned to Louvain, where we find it later in the keeping of the Franciscans. Threatened by the violence of the French Revolution, it was sent for safety to St. Isidore's in Rome, and when in the next century the Italians threatened that city, the manuscript was sent to Ireland. Appropriately it rests to-day in the keeping of the Franciscan Fathers in Merchant's Quay, Dublin. "The fortunes of war have driven these poems from their native land to Belgium, from Belgium to Italy, from Italy back to their native land." Thus wrote Dr. MacNeill in his Introduction to the first part of the Duanaire. All who are interested in Irish literature will rejoice that the work, which Dr. MacNeill for many reasons was unable to finish, has now been completed by an accomplished scholar and a worthy successor. These poems have at last "been placed beyond the risks of battle."

The work of editing and translating has been done by Mr. Murphy with great care and precision. The use of Roman type has made possible a more faithful reproduction of the manuscript, and the printing of the poems in quatrain form is more satisfactory. A third volume will contain notes, indices and a glossary to both parts. Most of the poems here edited are hitherto unpublished ones, but it is not unlikely that there may be in the still inedited Irish manuscripts other copies of some of these poems. A good version of the poem *Eirigh suas a Osgair* (No. LII) is contained in *Agallamh na Senorach* (*Silva Gadelica* I, 117) and affords some interesting variant readings. A number of the other poems are familiar to us in degenerate *Oglachas* metres of the eighteenth century. The poem *La da raibh Fionn ag ol* (No. LXV) was edited from this manuscript and from the *Dean of Lismore's Book* by Stern in *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* I, 294. Stern's reference to a copy of this poem in R.I.A. MS. 23 c 31 is incorrect, but there is another copy in the British Museum MS. Addit. 27,946 (Cat. II, 681). While all the poems in this second part of the Duanaire are of great interest, one cannot but express the regret that it did not contain (with the possible exception of No. XL) any more of those beautiful little lyrics, those short spontaneous 'unofficial' literary pieces, which, wedged in amongst the more ponderous narrative poems, seem to have been pre-

served by a mere accident of fate. (*Cf.* Nos. XXV-XXXI in the first part.)

In his Introduction to the first half of the Duanaire Dr. MacNeill made an important and stimulating contribution towards the solution of the many difficult problems connected with the rise and development of the Fiana cycle. A few years later, Meyer in his *Fianaigecht* added much to our knowledge of this matter. We shall await with interest the further light which Mr. Murphy, in the promised third volume, will doubtless be able to throw on this important subject. Perhaps, too, if it would not be too violent a departure from the apparently established tradition of Irish scholarship, Mr. Murphy might venture to give us a literary appreciation of these poems. There is no one better qualified to do so. F. S.

THE ANNALS OF INISFALLEN. Reproduced in facsimile from the Original Manuscript (*Rawlinson B* 503) *in the Bodleian Library. With a Descriptive Introduction by R. I. Best and Eóin MacNeill.* Published by the Royal Irish Academy. Dublin: Hodges, Figgis & Co. London: Williams & Norgate. 1933. viij + 29 pp. + 57 ff.

This volume, which the Royal Irish Academy has just added to its already noble series of facsimile reproductions of important Irish manuscripts, though it does not vie with its great predecessors, the *Book of Ballymote* and the *Book of Leinster*, in imposing bulk or in the extent and variety of its contents, is one of the most notable of our early documents of history. As the distinguished scholars to whom its description was entrusted have pointed out, it offers, both as to its content and its execution, many features of high and exceptional interest. In its present state it consists of 57 folios of vellum of moderate size, and it contains a chronicle of events from A.D. 1 to A.D. 1321. Down to the middle of the 10th century it is a compilation from foreign and native sources according to the method of other Irish annals, and was constructed, as in an acute analysis Dr. MacNeill infers, between the years 944 and 950. From that period onward the document becomes an original and contemporary record of Irish affairs, mainly relating to Munster, for over three centuries and a half. Thus, in the words of Dr. Best, these differ from almost all the well-known Irish annals " in one important respect, namely that they furnish from a certain point onward, where the period of transcription ceases, that is, at the close of the eleventh century, a series of almost contemporaneous entries by different

hands down to the year 1321, where they break off. The *Annals of Boyle*, so called, are of a similar nature, but the period of contemporaneous entries . . . covers only thirty years or thereabouts. The *Annals of Inisfallen* are thus as regards actual manuscript tradition the oldest considerable body of Irish annals that have come down to us ; for the contemporary compilation known as the *Annals of Tigernach*, bound up in Rawlinson B 502, is but a fragment. The *Annals of Ulster*, on the other hand, the most copious of all, have been transmitted in copies of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The *Annals of Inisfallen* are thus not only of special value as a record of events in southern Ireland, for which they often constitute the sole authority, but also because of the light they throw as dated texts on problems of Irish orthography and pronunciation from the late eleventh to the beginning of the fourteenth century, that is, the period of transition from Middle to Modern Irish. Also, the specimens of Irish writing by different hands which they furnish for a period of over two centuries should prove a valuable aid in the dating of manuscripts."

How great consequence is to be given to the three points of history, language and palaeography illustrated in a document progressively contemporaneous throughout a good deal over two centuries need not be further stressed. In respect of the one last mentioned Dr. Best has supplied a discussion that deserves special notice. He reckons as not less than twenty-nine the number of scribes at work in succession, and of these he examines and particularises the individual characteristics with his recognised width of knowledge and conclusiveness. The result is an exhaustive statement extending through twenty-one large quarto pages, which, taken with the manuscript for its illustrations, constitutes an authoritative contribution to Irish palaeography. It is a feat of scholarship that springs up like a kindly plant in an unkindly field. The study of palaeography appeals to but a few rare spirits in Ireland. It has found no practical encouragement or help hitherto in our seats of learning. Yet, *primâ facie*, it might have been accounted a subject of innate attractiveness. In manuscript literature at one time there were few nations so apt as the Irish or so distinguished by their achievements, as there are few that can show equal monuments of that kind, not alone in the books they produced but in the manuscript schools they founded when they were for centuries the writing-masters of Northern Europe. What recognition has come to Ireland in that respect, she owes more to the generosity of foreign scholars than to the

researches of her own. *Quomodo sedet sola civitas plena populo, facta est quasi vidua domina gentium ; princeps provinciarum facta est sub tributo.* In such a case Dr. Best's study is eminently welcome.

The facsimile was produced for the Royal Irish Academy at the Oxford University Press with the kind permission of the authorities of the Bodleian Library, who on this as on other occasions have readily given facilities and scholarly help. The manner in which the work has been executed is exceedingly praiseworthy ; the text is brought out with great distinctness, and where it is obscure or illegible, it may be concluded that the defect is not less in the original. The Royal Irish Academy, also, is to be congratulated on all heads for this publication. M. C.

AN SGEULUIDHE GAEDHEALACH. (*Sgéalta as Connachta*). Dubhglas De h-Ide (An Craoibhín) do chruinnigh iad. Institiút Béaloideasa Éireann. 1933. pp. xvi + 272.

An Sgeuluidhe Gaedhealach is a compilation of thirty-five fine Irish folk-stories collected by Dr. Hyde from the lips of Connacht *seanchaidhthe* some forty years ago. That Dr. Hyde could not then find a publisher in Ireland for these stories is sufficient testimony to the pioneer character of his work. Through the kind offices of that good Celtic scholar, Georges Dottin, they found a place in the pages of the *Annales de Bretagne*, a quarterly review of a sister Celtic country. First ten, and then eleven more, of these stories were reprinted in book-form and finally the whole collection, together with a French translation, was published in 1901. But only one hundred copies were printed. These were promptly bought up and since then the stories have been out of print.

The Irish Folklore Institute has now given us a new edition of this work (without any translation). A great service has been done by making this invaluable collection of stories available to all. Their importance for the student of folklore is obvious ; but they will appeal none the less to the general reader of Irish. At a time when such frantic—and, as some think, ill-considered—efforts are being made to provide general reading matter in Irish, these very readable stories will be greeted as a welcome respite from the Irish versions of Jack London and A. E. W. Mason.

In the Introduction to this reprinting (although some changes in spelling have been introduced, it can scarcely be called a new edition) Dr. Hyde tells us of the old people from whom he gathered these stories. Indeed some may find this Introduction the most

interesting part of the whole book. It gives a wonderful insight into the condition of Gaelic culture at the end of the last century. Is not the history of that culture crystallised in the picture of the young scholar of Trinity College collecting these fine stories from the lips of "ignorant," pauperised peasants or from the inmates of the Poor-House in Athlone? The Irish Folklore Institute might add another valuable volume to their list of publications, if it could persuade Dr. Hyde to write at greater length the story of his pioneer work in that field, in which this Institute is to-day doing such splendid work.

That this book of Irish stories, unaccompanied by any translation, whether French or English, could be published in Ireland to-day is itself an eloquent tribute to the work and labours of Douglas Hyde. F. S.

Classics

CONVERSION. By A. D. Nock. Oxford: Clarendon Press. London: Milford. 1933. 15s. net.

PLOTIN ET LE PAGANISME RELIGIEUX. Par Édouard Krakowski. Paris: Denoël et Steele. 1933. 20 fr.

THE first of these books has for its sub-title "The Old and the New in Religion from Alexander the Great to Augustine of Hippo." In form a study of one particular religious phenomenon, it presents us with what in fact is a most learned and interesting history of ancient paganism in its last phase and of its contact with Christianity. Professor Nock is a brilliant authority on his subject who has been recently translated from the English to the American Cambridge. The substance of this work will be familiar to many in Dublin, for it was delivered as the Donnellan Lectures at Trinity College in June 1931, when the lecturer was the guest of the late Dr. Louis Claude Purser.

Professor Nock has already acquired a great reputation not only for the immensity of his learning but for the breadth and sanity of his critical judgment. His reputation will be enhanced, if possible, by this book, which will be indispensable to all students of its subject. Beginning with an examination of the idea of conversion in general and its application to Greco-Roman religious conditions, Professor Nock first rapidly sketches an outline of Greek religion before Alexander, and then passes to a full account of the impact of Eastern religions on Greece and Rome during his chosen period. Eight chapters, closely packed with the latest knowledge critically sifted, are devoted to this much-discussed subject. The second part of the book deals first with conversion

to philosophy, and finally with the spread of Christianity, as a social phenomenon, as seen by pagan eyes, and through the experience of three typical converts, Justin, Arnobius, and Augustine.

The author's conclusions, reached after this elaborate survey, are of the highest interest and importance as marking the very great change that has come about in the whole attitude of scholars towards the rise of Christianity. A foretaste of these conclusions is met with already on page 14: "It is wholly unhistorical to compare Christianity and Mithraism as Renan did, and to suggest that if Christianity had died Mithraism might have conquered the world." In effect it is Professor Nock's view that there is a much closer parallel between Christianity and contemporary Greek philosophy in respect of conversion than between Christianity and the pagan religions, whether new or old, mystery-religions or public cults. There is a profound, if long-neglected, historical truth in this judgment, because Greek philosophy after Socrates and Plato tended to be not only a way of thinking but a way of living. It is noteworthy that early Christian apologists made the treatment of Socrates a sort of standard accusation against paganism, and that under the influence of philosophy there was during the third century A.D. a strong reaction among pagans themselves against the more primitive aspects of their cult such as elaborate blood-sacrifice. Professor Nock carefully examines the differences and resemblances between pagan and Christian belief and practice, and his conclusion is not far from that of a recent very interesting German popular work, Stier's "Aus der Welt des Pergamonaltars," that in fact Christianity, among its other advantages, won because it revived and emphasised the very real virtues of old Greece and Rome which paganism had almost forgotten.

In such a book by such a scholar there is inevitably little to criticise. We think, however, that Professor Nock has perhaps attributed too much weight to the brilliant but surely erratic characterisation of St. Paul by Eduard Schwartz. We note two slips, one of them amusing: "Amphictyon" is given as father of Heracles on page 233, and on page 250 there is mention of "Mencius and *other early Jesuit missionaries* in China."

M. Krakowski's work is much more popular than Professor Nock's, and is vitiated by a truly appalling array of misprints, which may be said to culminate in "Pinstarte" and "Yppias" on page 73 for "Pisistrate" and "Hippias." Their number and enormity give the book a deceptively medieval flavour. A further

weakness is the author's reliance for certain aspects of his subject on modern authorities whose views are either one-sided or notably erroneous. This is particularly the case with what he has to say of the Eleusinian Mysteries, where no good judge will accept MM. Foucart and Magnien as reliable guides. In spite of these drawbacks, his book is not without real value. His thesis is the kinship between the thought of Plotinus and that on the one hand of Christian tradition and on the other of Bergson in his latest phase. M. Krakowski is particularly interesting when he suggests that Neoplatonism took a wrong turning in its attempt to defend paganism, and that its truer representatives after Plotinus himself are Augustine in the West and John of Damascus in the East. This agrees with the recent judgment of M. Grégoire that the success of the reaction under Julian would have spelt disaster not merely for Christianity, but to an even greater degree for the ancient learning and science to which Julian was so passionately devoted. M. T.

ARISTOTELIS DE ANIMA. Libri Tres. Graece et Latine edidit, Versione auxit, Notis illustravit Paulus Siwek, S.I.

DE PLATONIS DOCTRINA CIRCA ANIMAM. Textus Selectos collegit et Notis instruxit Josephus Souilhé, S.I.

DE EUDAIMONIA SIVE DE BEATITUDINE. Textus ex Philosophis Antiquis. Collegit atque Introductionibus et Notis illustravit Johannes B. Schuster, S.I.

Romae : Apud Aedes Pont. Universitatis Gregorianae. 1933.

THESE are a selection from a very useful series of texts for lectures and exercises in philosophy. In form and price they resemble the famous Bonn series, Lietzmann's Kleine Texte. The first on our list is a complete critical edition in three parts, with translation and notes, of Aristotle's treatise. It will be found valuable not only by philosophers but by students of Aristotle as well. The second is a very commodious little collection of all the most important Platonic texts on the soul. Readers of the *Phaedo* in particular will find this an almost indispensable aid, which will save them from having to make a laborious collection themselves. The text followed is Burnet's Oxford text, and the editor is known as one of the best French Platonic scholars. The third is a briefer series of texts dealing with ancient philosophical theories of Happiness, again certain to be found useful, for example, both by students of Aristotle's *Ethics* and by students of St. Thomas.

M. T.

History

CATHOLIC MISSION HISTORY. By Joseph Schmidlin, D.D. A Translation, edited by Matthias Braun, S.V.D. Techny: Mission Press. 1933. $5.

In a recent issue of STUDIES (Sept. 1933) we reviewed Dr. Schmidlin's valuable work, *Catholic Mission Theory.* This second volume is a companion to that encyclopedia of modern mission-theory, and the editors, who have performed a most valuable service to Catholic missionary propaganda by giving the English-speaking world a translation of both volumes, are justified in their claim that the two books "form a veritable encyclopedia on matters regarding Catholic Foreign Missions." This second volume runs to 862 pages, and the author has succeeded in condensing into that space an amazing amount of information. It is indeed the first systematic attempt to give a survey on strictly scientific lines of all that the Catholic Church has done for the propagation of the Gospel since apostolic days. Inevitably, the condensed statement of facts loses the attractiveness of most missionary history, but Dr. Schmidlin has kept steadily to his purpose of giving us an encyclopedia of his subject, not a series of biographies. Yet, even in the series of short narratives which make up his chapters, it is surprising to note how much detail has been conveyed to the reader; and the bibliographies at the head of each chapter let him know where he must go for fuller information.

Dr. Schmidlin has had to pass judgment on several controversial matters, but his judgment is remarkably sound, and his work can be commended as a safe guide for all students who wish to get their bearings in the problems connected with missionary history. St. Patrick's importance as a great missionary saint is duly emphasised in a very well-informed chapter; and there is an adequate account of the work done by Irish missionary saints on the Continent. Saint Boniface is the greatest name in the following period, and Dr. Schmidlin pays a fine tribute to his work and to his saintly character which has been somewhat obscured by Protestant historians. In the Middle Ages the Mendicant Orders take the lead, and the story of their missions to the Holy Land and the Far East are here once more retold. There follows the decline, and the amazing revival in the sixteenth century. Dr. Schmidlin has some interesting comments to make as to the results of recent historical research on the traditional narrative of Saint Francis Xavier's life and work.

By way of contrast, Dr. Schmidlin is severe in his criticism of the lack of all sustained effort to create a native priesthood in such promising mission-fields as the Jesuit missions in Japan and South America ; his criticisms are fair, and explain to a great degree the lack of permanence in works that once were so glorious. Again, he is severe on the tendency of Jesuit missionaries to neglect the organisation of a missionary hierarchy, and here again his criticisms are justified in the light of later experience. The undue reliance on great Missionary Orders which is characteristic of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries left the missions unprovided with recruits and resources when the crash came in Europe at the French Revolution. The story of that disastrous breakdown as it affected the missionary activity of the Church is the prelude to the great revival of missionary fervour, first in France and then later in the various European countries. Dr. Schmidlin has himself done much to promote the cause of Catholic Missions in the Germany of to-day ; but he pays generous tribute to the work of such neighbours as the Belgians and the Dutch ; and he has not failed to record the promise of the future here in Ireland, where missionary propaganda on a large scale is as yet only in its infancy.

Dr. Schmidlin's numerous bibliographies would alone make this volume indispensable to any serious student ; but we take this opportunity of recalling that Father Stephen Brown's more modest *Index of Catholic Missionary Literature* (Dublin, 1932), which is duly commended in this imposing volume, contains a vast amount of most useful information for those who may be unable to purchase Dr. Schmidlin's two volumes. But after all the dollar stands low at present, and our advice to all and sundry is that they should make haste and buy. P. D.

HISTORY OF THE POPES. Translated from the German of Ludwig von Pastor. Edited by Ralph Francis Kerr. Vols. XXIII and XXIV. London : Kegan Paul. 1933. 15s. each.

THESE two volumes deal with the pontificate of Clement VIII (1592-1605) : a true turning-point in the history of papal diplomacy. For it was the Aldobrandini Pope who made the final decision by which the traditional Spanish policy of his immediate predecessors was exchanged for a French policy, which opens with the absolution of Henri IV in 1595. Pastor tells in full the long diplomatic struggle which preceded that decisive step, and the bitter disappointment of the Spanish representatives in Rome. But the decline in Spanish power had been obvious to all observers

since the failure of King Philip's Armada, and it was inevitable that the Popes should seek elsewhere the support they needed in European politics. For the religious welfare of the French people, Pope Clement's courageous decision is of immense importance, and to it must be ascribed that revival of French Catholicism in the following century which has made *le grand siècle* one of the classic periods of Catholic thought and fervour.

The exchange of Spanish for French protection in papal policy was at the moment a heavy blow to the Jesuits, whose Spanish connections were traditional in the Order. Pope Clement's famous attempt to settle the Jesuit-Dominican controversy on grace by a solemn definition, in which the Jesuits for a time had good reason to fear that their doctrines might be condemned, is but one of many proofs that the Pope was inclined to look askance on the Order's influence in the life of the Church. Pastor is openly pro-Jesuit in his account of these famous discussions. A side-issue, which was to lead to lamentable consequences, may be found in the development of the Archpriest controversy in England, where again an effort was being made to replace the control of Father Persons and his Spanish allies by some other form of direction. The tragedy for English Catholics is the accidental fact that Cardinal Allen's death in 1594 removed the one man who could have tided over this period of change by the prestige of his personal authority. The gap created by his death was never filled, and the controversy which raged so fiercely during the next few years, and which has left its bitter memories to this day, is explained in part by the instinctive desire of many English Catholics to shake themselves free from the entanglement of the Spanish alliance. Those who have read the late Father Pollen's very careful and scholarly account of that lamentable quarrel will remember the truth of his contention that Father Persons himself was singularly free from blame in the initial stages of the controversy. The personal rancours displayed must be largely accounted for by the frayed nerves of men who had suffered years of imprisonment, and were conscious of the ubiquity of Government agents and spies. And in the end, when Spanish guidance had finally been shaken off, English Catholics found themselves entangled in that French Gallicanism which was to have such disastrous consequences in the next two centuries of their history.

Pastor tells the story of this controversy in full detail, but has less to say of Irish sufferings in the last years of Elizabeth and the first years of James I. His account of the Catholic revival on the Continent, notably in Germany and Poland, is of interest, as also

his chapter on the Holy Year of 1600. For students of missionary history the long chapter in Vol. XXIV on the origins of Propaganda is of special importance. So far back as 1879 Pastor, then a young student, found an anonymous memorial which sets forth the scheme of a special Congregation for the work of promoting Catholic missions all over the world. This memorial is very probably, so Pastor holds, the work of a Carmelite Father, and the scheme here set forth is in its main outlines the scheme actually followed by Pope Clement VIII when he created the new Congregation in the summer of 1599. The contemporary history of the English, Irish and Scotch missions is proof sufficient of the apostolic zeal that animated the great Catholic revival of the sixteenth century ; but Pastor has interesting details to give his readers as to the progress of the Dominican, Franciscan and Jesuit missions in South America and Japan, of the Jesuit mission to China (where Father Ricci began to study the Chinese language in 1593) and of the contemporary Jesuit missions to the Great Mogul, to Persia and to Abyssinia. In this last mission the name of Father Paez is worthy of special remembrance. For most of Pope Clement's pontificate Father Paez was a prisoner, first in Arabia, then (as a galley-slave) in Persia. But the years of his captivity came at last to an end, and he was able to return to Goa, whence he had started on his mission. There followed fresh delays ; but in 1603 the man's amazing constancy was rewarded by his admission to Abyssinia, where for the next twenty years he was to carry forward the work begun by Oviedo in the middle of the previous century. Here is a by-path in the history of those years which shows that the enterprise of Christ's apostles was as fresh and as dauntless as ever. Japan and Canada were soon to show that the tradition of martyrdom for Christ was not yet forgotten. A. G.

LA SOCIETE DE SAINT VINCENT DE PAUL. Histoire de cent ans. Par Albert Foucault. Paris : Editions Spes. 1933. 25 francs.

SOCIETE DE SAINT VINCENT DE PAUL. Livre du Centenaire. Paris : Beauchesne. 1933. 30 fr.

M. FOUCAULT'S *La Société de Saint Vincent de Paul* is a history of the Saint Vincent de Paul movement from its inception one hundred years ago. The author has done his work admirably. In the opening section, which describes the foundation of the Society, the reader is permitted to assist at the first conferences, share in their struggles, and witness the steady growth of the

Society from infancy to hardy adolescence. It is interesting to note that these early pages are dominated even more by the personality of Bailly than that of Ozanam, and M. Foucault is at pains to set forth the Society's great debt to its first President-General. Each Presidency is treated in a separate section. Throughout, the work is both minute in detail and copiously rich in statistics—fruit of the author's painstaking and exhaustive research in the Council-General's archives. Yet the reading is never difficult, the background of historical interest being well maintained. The Irish reader will find references to the Society's history in his native land in gratifying abundance. The ebb and flow of fortune consequent on the political changes and upheaval is faithfully depicted, and if the author has perhaps been not quite so happy in his rather occasional efforts at portrayal of the moral and social influences of the movement, nevertheless the present volume shows him to be one of the most accurate and thorough of the Society's historians.

The *Livre du Centenaire* is a commemorative study by a group of distinguished authors of the life of the Society from different viewpoints. In an introductory section M. de Laborie indicates the part played by the Central Council in the life of the Society, laying special emphasis on its unifying influence and on its zeal for the traditional " règlement " as shown in its firm resistance to innovation. The Society's development and present position in the various countries of the world is then passed in review by several authors. France is treated at great length, the author giving a very detailed analysis of the numerous social activities undertaken by the French conferences. Ireland is disposed of rather summarily by M. le Baron des Rotours. Perhaps the finest chapter in the book is that on Germany by M. Georges Goyau. The activity of the " Vincenzverein " is excellently given in comprehensive outline. One is somewhat surprised, however, to see no mention made of the repeated efforts to separate from the central authority at Paris an autonomous current very marked in the Society's history in the Fatherland. The survey of the position in Latin America reveals an amazing difference in progress between nations of the same continent—Brazil being credited with 2,159 conferences, while Peru has only eleven and Venezuela only three. A group of graphical surveys form an instructive appendix in the book—an invaluable book for all who wish to obtain an idea of the truly Catholic scope of the St. Vincent de Paul Society.

D. Boylan

Studies in Literature

THE POETRY OF GERARD MANLEY HOPKINS. By E. E. Phare. Cambridge University Press. 1933. 6s. net.
PATMORE: A STUDY IN POETRY. By Frederick Page. Oxford University Press. 1933. 6s. net.

PATMORE and Hopkins were friends and correspondents, and it is fitting that books in criticism of their work should appear nearly together. There is a great difference between Miss Phare's book and that of Mr. Page. The former has developed out of a piece of scholastic work done at Newnham College, and is obviously a first effort. The latter is the mature production of a writer who has long made a special study of his author. In any case it is easier to write of Patmore than of Hopkins. Mr. Page is in the fortunate position of adding fresh material to sources of critical study that have been available for more than half a century, and of defending an appreciation of a poet who has had his due share of both praise and blame. Miss Phare is doing almost pioneer work; for Hopkins's poetry only appeared independently for the first time in 1918, and although it has been far more influential than that of his friend, it has by no means as yet been subjected to anything like a durable estimate. Much of what has been written about it has been either a repetition of things said by Hopkins himself or a pretentious erection of doubtful theory on unsound abstract foundations.

Miss Phare suffers a little from her method, which is the banal scholastic method of comparison. She compares her poet in turn with a series of exemplars, from Crashaw, Milton, and Wordsworth to Miss Sitwell and T. S. Eliot, bringing in Paul Valéry for a page or two. Her comparisons are eked out with a variety of pseudo-philosophical jargon; Mr. Graves' "motile" and "tactile" distinctions are applied and rejected after having filled several pages; Mr. Herbert Read's adaptations of psycho-analysis are invoked, and there is a long explanation of "The Windhover" —*obscurum per obscurius*—by Mr. I. A. Richards, which Miss Phare sets side by side with her own. Hopkins has been a very powerful influence on the "modern" school of current English poetry, and his doctrine of "inscape" has a close resemblance to their "poetic logic." Miss Phare has hardly succeeded in properly basing him; but her book will be read with interest, in spite of its occasional *naiveté*, by adepts in the work of the newer school.

Coventry Patmore wrote two great poems "The Angel in the House" and "The Unknown Eros," for the first of which he was scoffed at and for the second much praised. The son of an agnostic,

he progressed through Anglicanism to Catholicism. His final conversion also saw him turn into a country gentleman, and his political feelings were very strong in his later capacity. Is there anything more expressive in poetry than his outburst on the Reform Bill of 1867 by which Disraeli "dished the Whigs"—

"In the Year of the Great Crime
When the false English nobles and their Jew,
By God demented, slew
The Trust they stood thrice pledged to keep from wrong"—?

Patmore had a mystical philosophy of his own, holding the soul to be feminine and drawing an analogy between Divine and human love. He was an admirer of Allingham, and once declared that Allingham, Matthew Arnold, and himself were the three poets to whom the future belonged. Mr. Page has already edited a selection from his prose works, and now gives us a very thorough analysis of his poetic achievement, using much new material, and especially emphasing his remarkable metrical technique. As in the case of Hopkins, his Catholicism permeated his later work, and this in itself should ensure Mr. Page's book a warm welcome.

M. T.

DER INDIVIDUALISMUS ALS SCHICKSAL. Von Otto Miller. Freiburg: Herder. 1933. 3.50 M., 4.80 M.

This work, which is at once philosophical, social, critical and literary, is one of a series of three volumes on "Deutsche Dichtung der Gegenwart." The first, written by J. Mumbauer, appeared in 1931; that under discussion is the second; the third is promised for 1934 and is to be also by Otto Miller, but in collaboration with R. Knies and J. Kirschweng. All four are well-known German Catholics. Mumbauer is a parish priest; Otto Miller is the head of a Catholic Labour organisation, editor of a Labour paper and writer on social political topics. Father Mumbauer is one of those who, with Pater Expeditus Schmidt, the well-known Franciscan writer, in the first decade of the present century when Karl Muth founded *Hochland*, ranged himself with Muth against the narrower denominational group under the Viennese Kralik and Domanig. At that time Mumbauer broke a lance for the relative independence of literature as a secular activity which, even when exercised by Catholics, was only one phase in the general intellectual life of the nation. He held that it was a mistake for Catholics to withdraw behind denominational barriers in literature or to allow themselves to be consigned to a "literary Ghetto."

Those first years of the 20th century rang with such battle cries as " Come forth from your retirement," " Into the arena," " Out of exile," addressed to Catholic writers and thinkers. The measure of the success of these exhortations may be gauged by the character of the book under discussion and of its predecessor.

" Individualism as Destiny " is not specifically literary, as is Mumbauer's work which is a history of German literary movements and their exponents from the 80's of the last century down to the World War. But the background is the same in both—a definitely Catholic philosophy of life. Miller's book cries a halt between the first and third volumes of the " History of Present Day German Literature " for the purpose of examining why that literature is what it is, why it had to develop as it did. Such an examination is not a taking stock of external conditions—political, economic or social. It goes deeper—to the sources of literature in the mind and soul of the individual and the nation. The canker of that mind and soul is individualism, which he traces from its more acute developments in the 16th century down to the shipwreck which it has brought about in post-war Europe. Though European literature is put under contribution by Miller, Germany is the proper field of his examination and he correlates the terms centrifugal and disintegrated with Germanic, individualism being for him a peculiarly German destiny. His reflections bring him as far as National Socialism ; and whilst he gives the movement credit for the remedies it is seeking to apply to the diseases of individualism, he refuses to believe that the State can remove the root of the trouble. The remedy is to be sought elsewhere.

Otto Miller is not a professional historian of literature. Neither is he a specialist in aesthetics. He reflects somewhat hardly on Universities in Germany, which he calls " State Schools of Atheism." He is not the first or only critic who voiced similar views. He makes no claim to write a scientific treatise. Indeed a scientific treatise could not well be written on his theme, which is emotional and poetical in character. Its working-out takes the form of a rapid survey of the European but especially the German mind and soul driven by the forces of individualism and seeking expression in literature. There is none of the usual apparatus of the scientific work. There are no footnotes ; neither is there an index nor any list of authorities. But the author has read widely and thought deeply. Even if we did not know his age, we should judge his mind to be mature and his experience ripe—his book a product of much reading and more thinking of an original kind. There is, on the whole, a welcome absence of polemics ; the

judgments are never tendencious ; there is no misplaced denominational stressing and no party spirit.

Miller's aim is a bird's-eye view of the whole—a view for the general intelligent reader and not for the specialist student. His appreciations of men like Nictzsche, Dilthey and Paul de Lagarde —" heralds of revolt " against materialism—are penetrating and interesting, especially in the light of actual thought movements of to-day. His weaving of such developments as Impressionism, Expressionism, New Classicism, New Realism into the tissue of his work is " Geistesgeschichte " in outline. His " openness " to all that is high and noble and sincere in letters is in the true Catholic tradition. His book is at once topical and permanent in character ; a book to read with profit and enjoyment.

MARY M. MACKEN

Books Received

ALLERS, RUDOLF. Practical Psychology in Character Development. Abridged Version of " Psychology of Character." (Sheed & Ward, 4/6).
AMIGO, BISHOP. A Bishop to his People. Pastoral Letters. (Burns Oates, 5/–).
ARON, MARGUERITE. L'Eglise et l'Enfant. (Grasset, 15fr.)
AUGUSTINE, FATHER. Ireland's Loyalty to the Mass. (Sands, 3/6).
BAKER, C. H. COLLINS. British Painting. (Medici Society, 30/–).
BEHN, SIEGFRIED. Einleitung in die Metaphysik. (Herder, 6.80 M ; 8.40 M).
BELINAY, FREDERIC DE. Rabbi, mon Maître. Roman. (Beauchesne, 12fr).
BINYON, LAURENCE. English Water-Colours. (Black, 7/6).
BOLITHO, HECTOR. Twelve Jews. (Rich & Cowan, 15/–).
BONNER, R. Aspects of Athenian Democracy. (University of California, $2.25).
BREGY, KATHERINE. From Dante to Jeanne d'Arc. (Bruce Publishing Co. $1.75).
BRENNAN, DONAL. La Conversion de J. K. Huysmans et son Oeuvre religieuse. (Montpellier : Carias, pp. 147).
BRIERRE-NARBONNE, JEAN. Les Prophéties messianiques de l'Ancien Testament dans la Littérature juive. (Geuthner, 100fr.).
BROWN, STEPHEN. Introduction to Catholic Booklore. (Burns Oates, 5/–).
BYRNE, MARY. Mediaeval Irish Series. Táin Bó Fraích. (Stationery Office, pp. 59).
CAPPUYNS, MAIEUL. Jean Scot Erigène. Sa vie, son oeuvre, sa pensée. (Louvain : Abbaye du Mont César, pp. 433).
CURTAYNE, ALICE. Borne on the Wind. (Browne & Nolan, 5/–).
DANEMARIE, JEANNE. Stigmata from Catherine Emmerich to Theresa Neumann. (Burns Oates, 5/–. French edition reviewed in issue of September 1933).
DARNAND, MGR. J. Aux Iles Samoa. (Emmanuel Vitte, pp. 209).
D'ATHAYDE, T. Fragments de Sociologie chrétienne. (Desclée De Brouwer, 10fr.).
DOERING, ARCHBISHOP. Blessed John de Britto. (Bombay : Furtado, 3/–).
DUBOIS, PAUL. The Irish Struggle and its Results. (Longmans, 12/6).
DUESBERG, H. Le Roi Hérode et autres Essais. (Abbaye de Maredsous, 25fr.).
DUHAMELET, GENEVIEVE. Les Soeurs Bleues de Castres. (Grasset, 15fr.).
DUPREEL, E. La Cause et l'Intervalle ou Ordre et Probabilité. (Bruxelles : Lamertin, 8fr.).
FELIX, R. P. La Destinée. Retraite de Notre Dame. (Téqui, 10fr.).
GALTIER, PAULUS. De SS. Trinitate in se et in nobis. (Beauchesne, 40fr.).
GERMANUS, FATHER. Blessed Gemma Galgani. (Sands, 6/–).
GETINO, LUIS G. A. Relecciones Teológicas del Maestro Fray Francisco de Vitoria. Tomo I. (Madrid : Asociación Francisco de Vitoria, pp. 489).
GUERNIER, E. L. L'Afrique Champ d'Expansion de l'Europe. (Colin, 25fr.).
HARRIS, H. L. Economic Resources of Australia. (Angus & Robertson, 3/6).
HAUGH, IRENE. The Valley of the Bells and Other Poems. (Blackwell, 2/6).
HAY, MALCOLM V. The Jesuits and the Popish Plot. (Kegan Paul, 10/6).

Hedley, Bishop. Wisdom from Above. Sermons. (Sands, 6/–).
Hocedez, E. Quaestio de Unico Esse in Christo. Documenta saec. XIII. (Universitas Gregor., L.6).
Hubert, Henri, The Rise of the Celts. (Kegan Paul, 16/–),
Hughes, Henry. Maria Mazzarello. First Mother General of the Daughters of Our Lady Help of Christians. (Browne & Nolan, 3/6).
Hunter-Blair, Sir D. O. Little Essays. (Burns Oates, 3/6).
Jolivet, Regis. Le Thomisme et la Critique de la Connaissance. (Desclée, 10fr).
Keeler, Leo. Sancti Augustini Doctrina de Cognitione. Textus selecti. (Universitas Gregor., L.6).
McCarthy, J. Bernard. The Missing Prince. A Fairy Play. (Gill, 1/6).
MacGillivray, G. J. The Christian Virtues. (Burns Oates, 5/–).
Mackay, John. Forestry in Ireland. (Educational Co. of Ireland, 5/–).
McLachlan, H. The Unitarian Movement in the Religious Life of England. (Allen & Unwin, 10/6).
M. L. S. Thoughts of Blessed Louise de Marillac. Arranged for every day of the year. (Burns Oates, 2/6, 4/–).
Mahieu, Hieronymus. Probatio Charitatis. (Beyaert, 35fr.).
Malan, Herman. Jesus and Other Poems. (Johannesburg, 1/–).
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ALFRED T. COLLINS, ESQ., General Manager

AUDITOR:

JEREMIAH BUCKLEY, ESQ., Chartered Accountant, 46 Dame Street.

HEAD OFFICE—27 COLLEGE GREEN, DUBLIN.

REPORT OF THE DIRECTORS
OF
THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

Submitted to the Shareholders at their Ordinary General Meeting held on Monday, the 29th day of January, 1934.

The Directors submit to the Shareholders the annexed Balance Sheet as at 31st. December, 1933, with relative Profit and Loss Account for the Half-year to that date and a copy of the Auditor's Report thereon.

After providing for rebate on bills, interest on deposits, bad and doubtful debts and contingencies, the net profits for the half-year amount to	£44,664	9	0
To which has to be added:—			
Balance of undivided profits from last Account ...	31,160	4	5
	£75,824	13	5
The Directors have transferred to the Reserve Fund the sum of	£10,000	0	0
And they recommend that the balance be applied as follows, viz.:—			
In payment of a dividend for the half-year at the rate of **Twelve** per cent. per annum, subject to deduction of Income Tax	30,000	0	0
In reduction of Bank Premises Account ...	5,000	0	0
To next Account	30,824	13	5
	£75,824	13	5

The Reserve Fund now stands at £650,000.

By Order of the Board,

ALFRED T. COLLINS,
General Manager.

DUBLIN, 12th January, 1934.

THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

INCORPORATED IN THE IRISH FREE STATE

BALANCE SHEET, 31st DECEMBER, 1933.

Dr. Cr.

LIABILITIES.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	ASSETS.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Capital, viz.:—100,000 Shares of £20 each—£2,000,000; amount paid up, £5 per Share	500,000 0 0		By Cash in hand and with Bankers ...	946,973 14 10	
Reserve Fund	650,000 0 0		,, Investments, viz.:—		
Consolidated Bank Notes outstanding ...£550,000 0 0			War Loan, Irish Free State National Loans, and other Government Stocks (including Stock lodged with the Currency Commission by way of Security for Consolidated Bank Notes outstanding as per contra) ...	5,798,296 3 8	
Less: Held by the Bank ... 69,671 0 0	480,329 0 0		Corporation Stocks, Railway Debenture Stocks, and other Securities	265,460 15 9	
Deposit, Current, and other Accounts, including Interest due on Deposits	11,321,553 15 5			7,010,730 14 3	
Sundry Agents	18,001 2 4		,, Bills Discounted, Advances on Current Accounts, Loans, etc., after deducting provision for Bad and Doubtful Accounts ...	5,827,571 15 9	
Rebate on Bills Discounted not at maturity	5,895 13 11		,, Sundry Agents	6,583 10 5	
Profit and Loss Account ... £75,824 13 5			,, Bank Premises and Furniture (Head Offices and 58 Branches), at cost, less amounts written off	196,718 4 8	
Less: Transferred to Reserve Fund ... 10,000 0 0	65,824 13 5				
	£13,041,604 5 1			£13,041,604 5 1	

PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT for Half-year ended 31st DECEMBER, 1933.

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
Expenses of Management, including Directors' Fees (£2,000), Salaries, Pensions and Allowances, Bonuses and Grants to Staff, Rents, Rates, Repairs, Revenue Taxes, and all other outlay	107,022 18 5	By Balance from last Account ...	31,160 4 5	
Amount transferred to Reserve Fund	10,000 0 0	,, Gross Profit for Half-year, after providing for Rebate on Bills, Interest on Deposits, and Contingencies	151,687 7 5	
Dividend to be paid in February, 1934, subject to deduction of Income Tax ... £ s. d. 30,000 0 0				
Bank Premises Acct. 5,000 0 0				
Balance to next Acct. 30,824 13 5	65,824 13 5			
	£182,847 11 10		£182,847 11 10	

AUDITOR'S REPORT

I have obtained all the information and explanations I have quired in the course of my examination in detail of the foregoing ofit and Loss Account and Balance Sheet.

I have verified the Investments. Their market value as on st December, 1933, is in excess of the amount at which they and in the Balance Sheet. I have also verified the Cash and lls in hand at the Head Office.

The Balance Sheet is, in my opinion, properly drawn up so as exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Company's airs according to the best of my information and the explanaons given to me, and as shown by the Books of the Company d the Certified Returns from the several Branches.

JEREMIAH BUCKLEY (KEAN & CO.).

BLIN, 12th January, 1934. Chartered Accountant. Auditor.

MARTIN F. MAHONY,
T. LEVINS MOORE,
WILLIAM R. NOLAN,
} *Directors.*

ALFRED T. COLLINS, *General Manager.*

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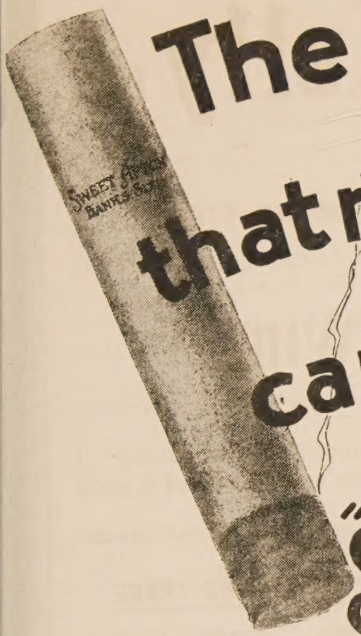

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